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Origins of Chintz

With a catalogue of Indo-European cotton-paintings
in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London,
and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

John Irwin and Katharine B. Brett

London Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1970

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Authors' Preface

The Indo-European cotton-paintings which are the subject of this catalogue are divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The idea of joint museum publication suggested itself for two reasons. First, because the two collections had complementary features and together represented a high proportion of the surviving evidence; and, secondly, because the nature of the subject seemed to call for co-ordinated research in disparate fields.

In the nineteen-fifties, prior to collaboration, we had been working independently on the material in our respective museum collections – one from the seventeenth-century Indian angle, and the other from the eighteenth-century European. Since from an early stage our findings not only pointed to parallel conclusions but sharply contradicted prevailing notions, the case for collaboration seemed overwhelming.

It is true of any advance in historical knowledge that once a wrong theory has been exposed and an alternative one made acceptable, students coming afresh to the subject begin to wonder how, at any earlier time, people thought differently. Chintz history provides an example. Any book on the history of the decorative arts published before 1950 will bear witness to the once universally held view that European textile design in the seventeenth century was radically influenced by the invasion of oriental taste and in particular by the Indian painted cottons which are the subject of this catalogue. The term 'oriental' was deliberately used instead of 'Indian', because in spite of India being the country of manufacture, the style seemed to be no more specifically Indian than Chinese, Persian or Turkish. In a curious way it was reminiscent of all these traditions, yet authentic of none. It had not occurred to anyone at this stage that an 'oriental' style of art combining features of the diverse and varied art traditions of Asia had never existed in the East itself and could only have originated as a concoction of the European imagination. The study of Indian chintz confirms this and shows that the exoticism which had long characterized these designs in the popular imagination derived ultimately from sample-patterns sent out from England and Holland for the Indian cotton-painter to copy or adapt. It was only in the process of copying or adapting that they were sufficiently transformed by the Indian sensibility and imagination to be received on their return to Europe as something exotic. Apart from their intrinsic merit as design, it is upon the detailed working out of this complicated interchange of art influences that the main interest of this book is likely to rest.

In view of the major influence exerted by Indian cotton-painting on the textile industry of the West, it is not surprising that both museums owe the richness of their collections to benefactors who were connected with that industry. The Victoria and Albert Museum was indebted to the late G.P.Baker (1856–1951); and the Royal Ontario Museum to the late Harry Wearne (1852–1929). Mr Baker collected at the beginning of this century, prior to the publication of his pioneer work, *Calico painting and printing in the East Indies*, 2 vols., London, 1921, which sumptuously reproduced in colour a large selection of this material for the first time. Tragedy occurred during World War II when Mr Baker, anxious about the safety of his collection in air raids, stored it in tin boxes in the inspection pit of his garage at Tunbridge Wells. Under these conditions, dampness rusted the metal and caused extensive damage to the fabrics. The collection having been given to the Museum in 1949, it is only after twenty years that the enormous task of restoration has made sufficient progress to enable the majority of the fabrics to be exhibited. The celebration of this progress is being marked by special exhibitions in Toronto, New York and London in 1970.

Toronto's benefactor, the late Harry Wearne, was a designer first of wall-papers, and later of textiles. During World War I he was designing printed textiles in New York for an English firm supplying the American market. It was probably after the war, on his annual trips to Europe, that he began collecting Indian and other fabrics. The Harry Wearne collection was given to the Royal Ontario Museum by his widow in 1934.

In preparing this book for the Press, we have received much skilled and patient help from Mr T.M.MacRobert and Miss Veronica Murphy of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Mrs Nora Priverts of the Royal Ontario Museum, and Miss Margaret Hall. Among the many other colleagues who have helped us in different ways, we are especially grateful to the following:

Madame Amic, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
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We should also like to thank Mr and Mrs André Varga of Toronto, and Mrs C. H. Salmon of Somerset, England, for their generosity in enabling us to include more colour plates than originally planned.

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Chapter 1

The significance of Chintz

During the two centuries with which this study is concerned – from 1600 to 1800 – India was the greatest exporter of textiles the world had ever known, and her fabrics penetrated almost every market of the civilised world. The extent to which Western Europe shared in this trade is reflected in language itself: 'chintz', 'calico', 'dungaree', 'gingham', 'khaki', 'pyjama', 'sash', 'seersucker' and 'shawl' are all Indian words surviving in common English usage. Of these, 'chintz' carries the strongest overtones, for its importation not only revolutionised taste and fashion but challenged the economic stability of western nations and provoked such passionate political controversy that even the survival of governments was at stake.

'Chintz' is nowadays used to describe any cotton or linen furnishing fabric of floral pattern stained with fast colours. In the eighteenth century, however, it was applied to dress materials as well as furnishing fabrics, but of cotton only, the distinguishing feature being that they were made in India for the European market by the process technically known as mordant- and resist-dyeing. The word had earlier appeared in East India Company trade records as *chint* (singular) and *chintes* (plural), its original native currency being in the region of Western India (especially Gujarat, Khandesh and Rajasthan) where it was applied to painted and printed cottons used for clothing. The extension of its meaning to furnishing fabrics such as bedspreads and hangings, and its adoption in the south of India, seems to have been a late seventeenth-century development. The nineteenth-century lexicographers, including the editors of the Oxford English Dictionary, suggested ultimate derivation from Sanskrit *chitra*, 'variegated'; but recent research has rejected this theory in favour of a vernacular, non-Aryan word *chiṭṭa*, meaning 'spotted cloth'.[1] This is consistent with the fact that when the Portuguese traded in the same goods they called them *pintados*, from Portuguese *pinta*, 'a spot, fleck', which also gave *pintada*, 'Guinea-fowl'.[2] A meaning implying 'spotted cloth' hardly fits the sophisticated floral designs represented by chintzes of this study; but it must be remembered that fine chintzes of this class constituted only a small fraction of the total Indian chintz manufacture at any period, the bulk of such goods being cheap expendable wares which have largely disappeared. The fine work survives precisely because it was relatively uncommon and costly, and therefore considered worth preserving.

The main appeal of Indian chintz to European buyers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the brilliance and fastness of its colours.[3] This contrasted surprisingly with the only painted and printed fabrics made in Europe prior to this, which were comparatively primitive in technique. The painted hangings of Tudor England, for instance, were linen cloths to which insoluble colours in the form of pigment had been applied, rather as an easel painter applies pigment to canvas. Similarly, the only kind of fabric-*printing* practised in Europe involved the application of printer's ink or oil-mixed pigment by means of a block. In both cases results were fugitive, and the fabrics correspondingly short-lived. Such methods owed nothing to the true art and science of dyeing, in the accomplishment of which the Indian craftsman had long been pre-eminent.

True dyeing is a chemical operation involving the use of fixing-agents known as mordants. A mordant is a metallic salt which has to be precipitated on, or within, the fibre in a soluble state, so that when the dye solution is introduced the dye reacts chemically with the metallic salt to form an insoluble coloured compound called a lake. Cotton fibre is especially difficult to treat in this way. For optimum results with dyes of the madder-type applied to cotton,[4] it is not sufficient to confine the lake to the surface: it is necessary that it should be distributed evenly throughout the fibre. It was on account of their success in this particular operation that Indian dyers were so renowned in the ancient and medieval world.

The origin of mordant-dyeing is at present unknown. Pliny records that the technique was practised in Egypt in Roman times,[5] but he reveals nothing about the materials used or from where knowledge was acquired. There are

[1] Sir Ralph L.Turner, *Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, fasc.IV, London, 1962, p.276, item 5036. It is significant that in Western India the predominant indigenous motifs on the grounds of turban pieces, *dopattas*, etc. are small, compact florets often giving the impression of spotting or flecking.

[2] Some editors and translators of Portuguese texts have derived *pintado* from Portuguese *pintar*, 'to paint'. Similarly, English merchants in the seventeenth century sometimes anglicised *pintados* as 'paintings'. However, careful scrutiny of sixteenth-century Portuguese usage leaves no doubt that *pintado* was very commonly applied to the cheaper sorts of cottons they knew to be block-printed. The crowning point of confusion is reached in French trade records where *pintados* are rendered as 'toiles peintes imprimées'.

[3] It was common opinion in the seventeenth century that the colours of Indian chintz actually improved in lustre with washing. However, there is no scientific basis for such a claim. It doubtless arose from the simple observation of the colours of a dirty fabric seeming brighter after removal of the dirt.

[4] Not *all* dyes need a mordant (eg. indigo, safflower and lichen dyes); but a mordant was certainly needed to produce the best reds and violets.

[5] In his comments on Pliny's description in *Historia Naturalis*, Book 35, ch.II, the Frenchman R.Pfister (in *Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan*, Paris, 1938) has confused the issue by claim-

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grounds for thinking that the Egyptians might have learned from India, and that Indian dyers enjoyed pre-eminence from earliest times.[6] So proverbial was their skill in the Mediterranean world that St Jerome, in his fourth-century translation of the Bible, likened the lasting value of wisdom to the permanence of the dyed colours of India.[7] This reputation was again echoed in an edict of the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon Synod of Cealcyth, which discouraged priests from wearing garments dyed with Indian colours (*tinctae Indiae coloribus*).[8]

The destructive nature of a monsoon climate has unfortunately erased from India itself practically all material evidence of textile history earlier than the late sixteenth century. It is therefore impossible to trace the stages by which India developed the basic technique of mordant- and resist-dyeing to the sophisticated level represented by the cotton paintings in this catalogue. The earliest known evidence are small fragments of exported Indian cloth found among the buried rubbish of mediaeval Egyptian cities such as Fostat (the site of Old Cairo), where survival was made possible by an exceptionally dry climate.[9] These are mostly fragments of abandoned tomb-covers or canopies, and some of them can be attributed on stylistic grounds to the fifteenth century and possibly earlier; but their usefulness, as evidence, is limited by the fact that they are mostly specimens of the lower grades of export ware, throwing no light on the best work that India might have been expected to produce at this period.

We have already stressed the comparative scarcity of fine chintz as distinct from the bulk of cheap dyed cottons produced under the same generic name of *chint*. The French traveller Tavernier, visiting Golconda in the middle of the seventeenth century, when this region was the most famous in India for fine cotton painting, remarked that production of the best work was so small that 'even if one engaged all the artisans skilful in the manufacture of such cloths, it would be hard to raise as many as three bales'.[10] The reason why specimens of fine chintz survive in museum collections, while the cheaper grades produced in much greater quantity have virtually disappeared, is simply because the former were considered by successive generations as worthy of preservation. Cheap Indian chintz, on the other hand, was treated as expendable, and on the rare occasions when a specimen does come to notice, it is usually because it has served as the lining of some more precious fabric.

Technically, a broad distinction between fine and commonplace Indian chintz is that the former were usually 'painted' and the latter 'printed'. In the first case, mordants and resists were applied to the cloth free-hand with the equivalent of a 'pen' or 'brush'; in the second, the mordants, after being thickened with gum, were applied by print-block.[11] The comparatively inferior results in the latter case were due not only to the more mechanical nature of the process, but also to the fact that the admixture of gum with the mordant inevitably reduced its efficacy as a chemical agent and thus also the quality of colour achieved. In this catalogue we are concerned only with chintz of the first category, for which we reserve the more specific term 'cotton-painting', and we shall return to a more detailed description of the manufacturing process in chapter 3.

ing that Pliny was referring to mordants for wool-dyeing, not for linen or cotton. In fact, as subsequently pointed out by P. R. Schwartz (*Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.3, 1957, p.43, fn.1), wool, unlike vegetable fibres, does not need a mordant for fast dyeing, although the use of a mordant does result in brighter colour.

[6] Chemists analysing cotton fibres excavated at Mohenjo-daro have suspected the presence of madder, implying the use of a mordant (A. N. Gulati and A. J. Turner, 'A note on the early history of cotton', Bulletin no.17, Technological Series no.12, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, 1928). The Greek physician Ktesias (fifth century B.C.) was possibly referring to madder-dyed garments when he mentioned the popularity of brightly-coloured Indian textiles among the Persians (Claudius Aelianus, *De Animalium Natura*, IV, 46).

[7] *Biblia Sacra juxta vulgata*, 1552, Job, Chap.XXVIII. Discussing wisdom Job says: 'Non dabitur aurum abrizum pro ea, nec appendetur argentum in commutatione eius. Non conferetur tinctis Indiae coloribus, nec lapidi sardonico pretiosissimo, vel sapphiro. Non adequabitur ei aurum vel virtum, nec commutabuntur pro ea vasa auri.' The original Hebrew phrase is *cothom aupir* ('gold of Ophir'). St Jerome apparently thought *cothom* was derived from a Hebrew verb meaning 'to be dyed', and equated *aupir* (Ophir) with India (see *Holy Bible translated from the Vulgate*, 1814, vol.II, p.744, fn.; *Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 1939, p.508, col.2; W. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol.II, 1863, under *Ophir*).

[8] The phrase occurs in the Report of the Legates, George (Bishop of Ostia) and Theophylact (Bishop of Todi), to Adrian I, on their proceedings in England. We are here quoting from the Latin translation of this document published by Sir Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici*, vol.I, 1639, p.294. The original document has not been traced (see A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol.3, 1871, p.450.

[9] R. Pfister, *Les Toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan*, Paris, 1938.

[10] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, part two, Book II, Paris, 1676, p.261. Our colleague Monsieur P-R. Schwartz, who has carefully investigated early editions of the travels of Tavernier, Thévenot and other Frenchmen, has warned us that in quoting these authors we can seldom be certain of quoting words actually written by them. Such books were often written at second hand on the basis of notes left or provided by the travellers some years after the experiences described. Although Tavernier was still alive when the first edition of his 'six voyages' appeared, this work was actually from the pen of his secretary, Samuel Chappuzeau, which should caution us about taking his words too literally.

[11] In cotton printing, outlines, too, were impressed by block, and sometimes blocks were also used for transferring resist material (usually wax or clay, possibly also starch) to the cloth.

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Chapter 2

The pattern of trade

The cotton-paintings forming the subject of this catalogue were products of Dutch, English and French trade in India, the contribution of the three western nations being in that order of importance. The earlier interest shown by the Portuguese in 'pintados', as they called them, had been as commodities of their inter-Asian trade rather than for bulk-export to Europe.

The potentialities of the European market were not in fact fully recognised before the middle of the seventeenth century. At the time of the foundation of the Dutch and English East India trade in 1597 and 1600 respectively,[1] interest was focused on getting pepper and spices from the Malay archipelago, and trade with India proper was a means to that end. So primitive were the social economies of the spice islands that bullion was of little use, and the only practicable trade was barter. Europe, on the other hand, lacked the kind of barter-goods acceptable to the spice islanders, pre-eminent among which were Indian piece-goods needed for clothing. These had been the commodities bartered by the Arabs when they controlled the medieval spice trade; and the Portuguese, when they ousted the Arabs in the sixteenth century, followed suit. Now, in the seventeenth century, the Dutch and English, in order to get spices on the best terms, were obliged to follow the same precedent. Thus, the pattern of trade was three-cornered. Ships sailed from Holland and England with bullion to be exchanged in India for textile piece-goods. The Indian piece-goods were then carried by the same ships to the Malay archipelago and bartered there for spices. Finally, the same ships returned direct to Europe laden with spices, which were then converted into bullion for another round of the same journey. As a consequence, trading operations in India itself were at first governed from headquarters in Java and entirely subservient to the needs of the spice trade. It was not until as late as 1649 that an English vessel sailed direct to England from the Coromandel coast of India, where the finest cotton-paintings were made.

Nevertheless, small quantities of Indian textiles had been reaching London on the spice ships from as early as 1613, and surviving sale records show that a few 'pintathoes' (ie. *pintados*, cotton-paintings) were among them.[2] Their comparative cheapness suggests that they were coarse, block-printed piece-goods, perhaps mere leftovers from the barter trade rather than fabrics specially commissioned for the Western market. Yet, as novelties they were eagerly coveted – especially by the directors of the Company who took what they could as perks, sometimes exceeding the limits of propriety in their anxiety to get what they wanted. For instance, at a directors' meeting held on 20th December, 1613, 'the Governor stated that exception had been taken to the Committees having had so many calicoes and pintathoes of certain kinds that few or none were left for the general sale, and advised that measures be taken to stop the clamour; whereupon some of the Committees promised to return to the warehouse what they had had. Twenty pieces of calicoes were placed at the disposal of the Governor, for presentation to the Lord Admiral and other applicants.'[3]

Encouraged by the interest shown in such goods, a month later the directors ordered an enquiry 'how callicoes and Pintathoes will sell here, that soe it may be considered what directions to give unto the factors there for buying and sending hither.'[4] No record survives as to the result of this enquiry. Its recommendations were presumably negative since no increase in orders followed. In order to make a profit satisfactory to the Company, off-setting frequent losses of ships and capital, textiles brought to England at this stage were required to fetch at least three times their prime cost. There is no evidence that this could yet be assured, and lack of confidence is reflected as late as 1631 in the decision to include 'painted calicoes' among goods officially permitted to be brought home in the Company's ships as articles of private trade.[5]

The next reference to chintz being sold in the Company's London auctions was in 1643, when 'Pintadoe Quilts' fetched 50s. each. This was considered a disappointing price and prompted the directors to comment that 'they serve more to content and pleasure our friends than for any profit [that] ariseth in sales, your first cost, freight and custom being all put together ... 60 or 100 quilts will

[1] A charter was not granted to the French Compagnie des Indes until 1664. Other countries with East India Companies were Denmark (1616) and Sweden (1731).

[2] Fifty *pintados* were listed in a sale of goods from the spice-ship *Peppercorn* held on 22nd December, 1613, as follows:
'Course Pintathoes 20 or 30 peeces of 9½ yards in length and half yard broad being putt likewise to sale Sir Thomas Noies Knight bidding 22^{s} per peece for them ...
Fine Pintathoes 15 or 16 peeces ... to be sold by the yard ... Mr George Benson bidding 4s. 11d. p^{r} yard ...
Pintathoe Carpets 10 or 12 being put to Sale Mr Ald.Smythe bidding 15^{s} a peece for them ...'
India Office Records, Court Minutes, vol.III, p.xiii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.xiii.

[4] *Ibid.*, p.xiii.

[5] Proclamation of Charles I, Public Record Office, SP45, vol.10, no.150. Evidence that private trade in such goods could nevertheless be profitable is indicated by the sum of £30 paid by one English buyer in 1631 for a set of 'pintado hangings ... for fitting a gallery or room ...' (India Office Records, Court Minutes, vol.XII, p.302). It is possible that these were fine cotton-paintings of the type catalogued here as the Early Coromandel Group.

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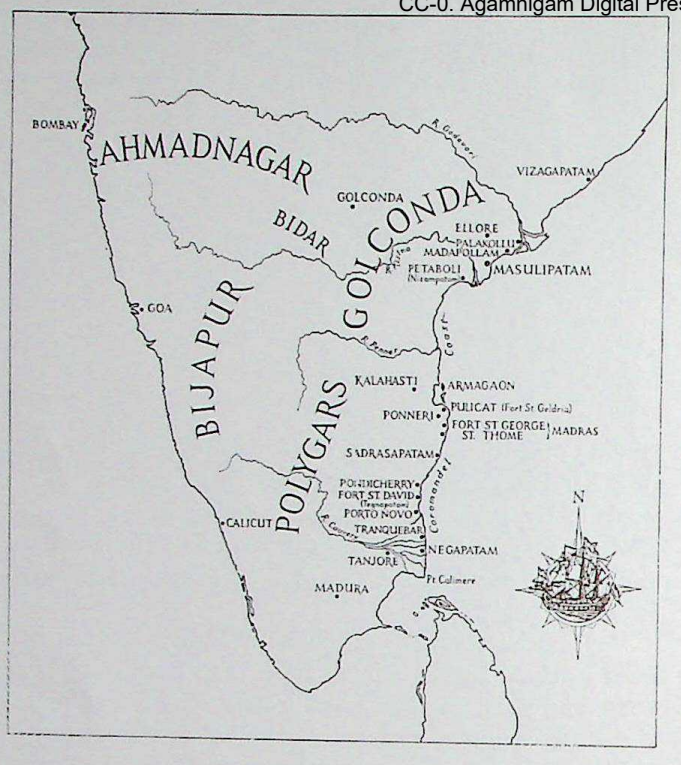

Map of South India showing the chief centres of textile manufacture during the period of Indo-European commerce. Among those which specialised in fine cotton-paintings were Palakollu, Petaboli, Kalahasti, Pulicat, Madras, Pondicherry, Tranquebar and Negapatam.

be as many as one year will want. Those which hereafter you shall send we desire may be with more white ground, and the flowers and branch to be in colours in the middle of the quilt as the painter pleases, whereas now the most part of your quilts come with sad red grounds which are not equally sorted to please all buyers ...'[6] The significance of this letter is that it marks the first known occasion on which specific directions were issued from London about the adaptation of Indian patterns to suit Western taste. Hitherto, the appeal had been simply that of novelty or curiosity, combined with impressive qualities of cheapness and non-fugitive dyeing. Now it was dawning on the directors that if Indian cotton-painting was to find a mass-market in the West, its patterns would have to conform with established taste. This taste already included a fashionable liking for Chinese art (familiar from the 'China shops' of the Royal Exchange, which were flourishing before the foundation of the English East India Company); but it did not yet embrace any aspect of Hindu culture, which still seemed incontrovertibly alien.[7] We see from the directors' orders, quoted above, that their first concern was to substitute white grounds for 'sad red grounds'. The significance of this is better understood when it is remembered that Indian cotton-painters and printers showed a traditional preference for reserving the pattern against a coloured ground (very commonly the pattern was picked out in white against red) rather than for a pattern in silhouette against a white ground.

The following year the Company's agents in India replied that they were closely following these instructions, and so successful were the results that within the next five years auction prices in London had increased by 20 per cent and orders had grown twentyfold. A temporary glut in 1658, coinciding with the death of Cromwell and the decline of the Commonwealth, set things back, but on the accession of Charles II demand again caught up and surpassed all records. In 1662, for the first time, actual patterns were sent out for the Indian cotton-painters to copy: 'We now send you herewith inclosed, several patterns of Chints for your directions, and desire you to cause a considerable quantity to be made of those Workes.'[8] Since none of the actual patterns sent out at this or any later period are known to have survived, we must be content to speculate on their nature. From this particular context, however, we can be certain that the patterns were small floral diapers appropriate for piece-good material rather than for bedspreads or hangings.

As far as available evidence tells, it was not until 1669 that the directors in London sent patterns for hangings and coverlets. On 16th February they wrote to their agents at Surat: 'Now of late, they are here in England, come to a great practize of printing large branches for Hangings of Romes, And we doe believe, y^{t} some of our Callicoes painted after that manner might vent well, and therefore have sent you some patternes, of which wee would have you send us 2000 pieces in the sorte and quantities foll:

600 peeces Redd and white
600 peeces Purple and white
400 peeces Black and white
400 peeces wth mixed collours, as the Chints

are usually painted ... We supose that those wch paint ye Serounge Chints will doe them best. Send us also 100 Quilts of the same workes, wth hansome large Borders.'[9]

Until as late as 1680, instructions about the ordering of Indian chintz were directed almost exclusively to the Company's agents in Western and Northern India. This meant that they were commissioned at one of the three main centres of chintz manufacture in this area – Sironj, Burhanpur and Ahmedabad.[10] After 1680, however, there was a relative decline in orders to Western India and an enormous growth in those directed to the Coromandel

[6] India Office records, Factory Records Miscellaneous, vol.12, f.99. A letter dated 27th November, 1643, addressed by the directors of the Company to their agent at Surat.

[7] This aspect is discussed in more detail in a later context (see pp.16–17).

[8] India Office Records, Letter Book III, p.161.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol.IV, p.326.

[10] The terminology of seventeenth-century trade records is extremely vague and confusing, and since the word 'paintings' was sometimes used to describe cotton-*prints*, as well as true cotton-paintings, one cannot always be certain that a particular place described as producing 'paintings' was in fact a source of true cotton-painting. However, the balance of evidence suggests that fine cotton-painting, as well as printing, came from both Sironj in Tonk State, Rajasthan, and Burhanpur in Khandesh. The main evidence for Sironj is as follows: in 1614 the English merchant Offlet reported that the best Sironj 'Pintathoes' cost one rupee per yard at source, which is a price much higher than that ordinarily paid for prints (India Office Records, Factory Records Miscellaneous, vol.25, p.56); in 1630 Peter Mundy (*Travels*, Hakluyt Society, vol.II, p.56) wrote that the 'Excellent Pintadoes or Chints' of Sironj were esteemed throughout India as 'next in goodness to those of Masulipatam'; and similarly, in 1666, Thévenot (*Travels*, Part III, Ch.21) described the 'toiles peintes' of Sironj as 'coming near in beauty' to those of the Coromandel Coast. The Burhanpur evidence is based firstly on the report of the merchant Finch, writing from Surat in 1609, that 'Pintadoes of all sorts, especially the finest ... I mean such as are for quilts and for fine hangings ...' are 'brought from a place called Brampore, some eight days journey to this place ...' (*Letters received by the East India Company,*

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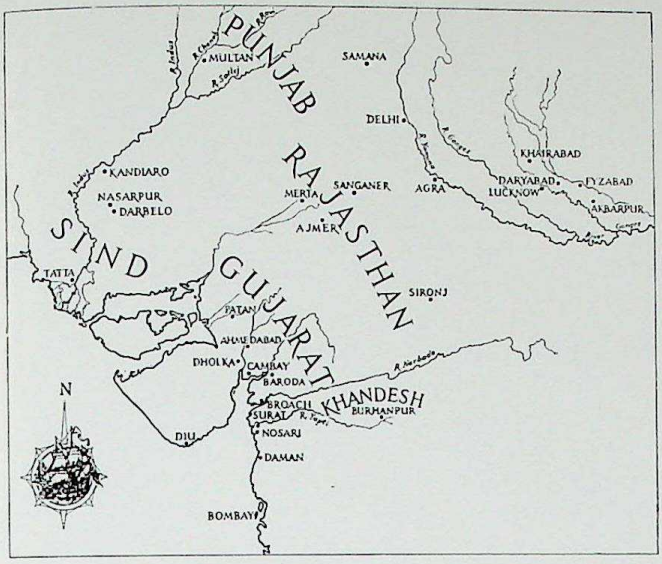

Map of Western India showing the chief centres of textile manufacture during the period of Indo-European commerce. Those especially noted for fine cotton-paintings were Sironj and Burhanpur. The chief centre for cotton-printing was Ahmedabad. Most of the goods were shipped from Surat where the Dutch and English had their headquarters.

Coast, especially as far as the *fine* categories of cotton-painting were concerned. This helps to explain why, among fine cotton-paintings now surviving, such a very high proportion are of Coromandel origin. There are indications that in this part of India the Dutch were ahead of the English in the early development of the Indo-European chintz trade, and when Dutch archives have been examined for evidence on this subject it may well be found that they were exporting Coromandel chintz to Europe long before the English and French.[11]

The enormous increase in chintz exports to Europe between 1680 and 1685 raised alarm among manufacturers of competing fabrics at home. In 1686 France, anxious most of all about the effects it would have upon her silk industry, took the lead in declaring a ban on chintz imports. This ban must have had an impact on English sales, since at this period many of those brought on English ships were re-exported to the Continent. The London directors at once told their agents in India to stop sending more, substantial reserves being left in the London warehouses.[12] By 1694, however, orders had once again exceeded all records and included a request for '10,000 Very fine Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] paintings, the finest can be made, done by the neatest hands can be got, done upon fine thick cloth, such as Metchlepatam Sallampores, Morees, Longcloth, as much variety of workes, new fancyes of the country's invention, nothing like English ... the greatest part upon white grounds. But be sure the Chay [ie. red dye] or the paint be the best can be done.'[13]

Designs copied by the Indian cotton-painters from English patterns had by this time become so parodied that by the time they reached England their European origin was often unrecognised. English and Chinese flowers, distorted into something fanciful by Indian eyes to whom the plants were alien, were now welcomed in their new form as expressions of exotic fantasy. The wheel had turned full circle. What had earlier been sent out to help the Indian craftsman to conform to conventions of English taste were now returning in parodied form to feed the new appetite for exoticism. The directors wanted more and more of such goods, and the more fanciful the better!

The main problem confronting the trading companies was how to arrange for increased production. In the Muslim-ruled state of Golconda, the incentive of the cotton-painters had been so undermined by oppressive taxation and by deteriorating conditions of poverty and starvation that the prospect seemed hopeless. To overcome this, both the Dutch and English introduced a new policy of contracting with the cotton-painters to desert their home villages and settle within the shelter of their own trading stations further to the South, where they had negotiated protective commercial rights with local Hindu rulers, the Dutch bringing them mainly to Tegnapatam, and the English to Madras.[14]

By 1700 this policy had begun to reap good results, and the English agent at Madras was able to report: 'I have with all diligence encouraged the painting trade, and have been at some charge to do it. Without any manner of partiality I think we far outdo Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] and hope by next ship to send you a thousand pieces such as never were seen in the world ...'[15] But by the time this letter reached London, a new English duty of 15 per cent had been imposed on all imported chintz, and the same legislation forewarned total prohibition of all sales for home consumption after Michaelmas, 1701.[16]

Serious though this legislation seemed at first, it in fact proved to be only a temporary setback. Soon it was to become a dead letter. According to the terms of the first prohibition law, Indian chintz could still be imported into England for re-export. This provided an easy loophole for the unscrupulous. Merchants attending the Company's sales in London pretended to buy for re-export, but the ships supposedly re-exporting to the Continent secretly unloaded them on the Kent or East Anglian coasts. So great was this abuse that in 1719 the Government was compelled to acknowledge that 'there are more Callicoes worn in England that pay no duty than what are painted and worn here that do pay duty ...'[17] Another memorandum of the same year listed among the defects of the 1700 Act the fact that there was no penalty against the actual wearing of imported chintz, nor did it forbid its use in domestic furnishings.[18] To meet these weaknesses, the second prohibition law was introduced in 1720 (with effect from 25th December 1722) to forbid 'the Use and Wearing in Apparel' of imported chintz, and also its 'use or Wear in or about any Bed, Chair, Cushion, or other Household furniture.'[19]

vol.I, London, 1896, p.29); and several later references in East India Company records to Burhanpur having the 'best artists'.

[11] Further evidence of the Dutch lead in exporting fine cotton paintings to Europe is suggested by the fact that in 1683 the English Company was buying specimens in Holland in order to send them back to India for copying (India Office Records, Letter Book VII, p.284).

[12] *Ibid.*, VIII, p.251.

[13] *Ibid.*, IX, p.313.

[14] *Ibid.*, IX, pp.391, 466 and 486.

[15] British Museum, Additional MS.22842, f.31. Letter dated 11th February, 1700.

[16] Public Record Office, Statutes of the Realm, 7 and 8 Gul. III, 1695–96, 13 and 14; and Gul.III, 1701, pp.582 *et seq.*

[17] Public Record Office, CO, 388/21, F.250.

[18] *Ibid.*, ff.189–90.

[19] Public Record Office, Statutes at Large, vol.5, 1 George I to 2 George II, 1714–28/9, pp. 338–40, 1768.

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Although more effective than the 1700 Act, the Act of 1720 still failed to achieve the aim of total prohibition. This is apparent from contemporary descriptions of the interiors of English country houses. In 1724, for instance, Wanstead House (the famous neo-Palladian mansion in Essex built by Sir Richard Child, a son of Sir Josiah Child) was described as having many Indian calicoes 'both in beds and hangings'.[20] Moreover, chintz could still be bought in London for re-export, and there is no reason to suppose that, in spite of new restrictions against wearing and use, the smuggling operations of the previous twenty years ever entirely ceased. Since one section in the Act made it permissible to continue to use or wear any painted calico which had already been made up or used before the Act became law, it was difficult to disprove the claim of an owner that the calicoes in his possession were acquired before 25th December, 1722.

In spite of the re-export trade and the persistence of smuggling, there was inevitably a decline in orders, and this branch of the India trade never regained the importance it had in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Writing to their agents at Madras in 1704, the directors commented: 'We are sorry we can give no greater encouragement at present to the fine paintings which we are sensible is brought to great perfection with you. The Chief Expense of that Commodity was in England, while now by the prohibition is taken away, and abroad they turn to no account. However, in hopes that one time or other the prohibition will be taken off, we are willing upon your recommendation in some measure to keep up that Manufacture until our further order, and therefore you may send some.'[21]

It is, of course, ironical that the majority of surviving chintzes date, not from the period of maximum importation, but from the period of prohibition after 1700; but since they were light cotton fabrics in use over a long period, we should perhaps reserve surprise for the fact that so many survived at all.

The relaxation of prohibition in the second half of the eighteenth century came too late to affect the volume of trade. By this time its fate had been sealed by advances in European technology, and in particular by the application of the copperplate process to fabric-printing. This was followed in 1783 by the development of the roller-printing machine. These advances undermined the whole economic basis of the Indo-European trade in decorative cottons, which was eventually to be revived in the reverse direction, finally destroying the age-old supremacy of the Indian craftsman.

[20] John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his circle*, London, 1962, p.24.
[21] India Office Records, Letter Book XII, p.371.

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Chapter 3

Technique and conditions of manufacture

The distinction between cotton-*painting* and cotton-*printing* is an important and radical one, particularly to the student of design. From an aesthetic point of view, there are certain obvious advantages inherent in the painting process. The cotton-painter, instead of being restricted to designs with repeating elements, is free to treat his design dynamically and to vary effects with every touch of the 'pen' or 'brush'. The word used in India for painted – as distinct from printed – chintz was *qalamkāri* (from Persian *qalam*, 'pen', and *kar*, 'work'; literally, 'pen-work'). The centres famous for this kind of work were concentrated within two main regions of India: Western India (especially Burhanpur and Sironj), on the one hand; and the Coromandel Coast (stretching from the Kistna delta to Point Calimere), on the other. The precise location of these centres within the two areas was largely determined by local properties of soil and water, often of decisive importance in producing the best results with dyes. Sometimes these advantages were so localised that one particular village could be relied upon to produce better colour effects than another in the same neighbourhood.

To produce a large chintz hanging or bedspread of elaborate design, in five or six colours, was a complicated and exacting operation involving many separate processes and sometimes taking months to complete. Yet the equipment was of the simplest kind, and all work was done in the open air, usually on the bank or dried-up bed of a river. Most operations were therefore limited to the 'dry' season and had to stop with the monsoons. From accounts of merchants and travellers we know that in South India (and probably also in Western India) the cotton-painters were low-caste Hindus working on a joint-family basis, usually in conditions of extreme poverty and indebtedness. They were so poor that the merchant or broker was sometimes required to advance essential materials in the form of cloth and wax and even rice needed for subsistence. There was considerable division of labour among joint-families within a particular community, and it seems that each joint-family may have specialised in one part of the manufacturing process. The Dutch agent Havart, describing conditions among cotton-painters at Palakollu in Golconda in the 1680s, said that there were 'four kinds of painters [*vierderley zoort van schildes*], who each have according to their family a special name. Between these is divided the demand, and they put out the work again to those of lower rank who do the work [*en zy besteden het weder aan hare mindere die't werk doen*]'.[1] Here he seems to be describing a procedure common even today among Indian handicraft workers, whereby one family, having undertaken to supply a finished article, sub-contracts for certain specialised operations in the manufacture. For instance, in this case one family might have done the initial drawing of the design (we are inclined to think that there were very few doing this), another the mordanting, a third the waxing, and so on. Indigo-dyeing in South India (and perhaps also in other areas) seems to have been the specialised occupation of a separate caste (see below, pp. 10–11). Havart gives us a picture of the manufacture going on 'very slowly, like snails which creep on and appear not to advance. Yes, he who would wish to depict Patience would need no other object than such a painter of Palicol [Palakollu].'[2] Another seventeenth-century witness described the actual painting (by which he probably meant the drawing of outlines and the application of mordant) being done by 'little children as well as elder grown, they stretching the piece on the ground, and sitting upon them, run them over with a dexterity and exactness peculiar to themselves'.[3]

When Dutch and English merchants first arrived on the scene, they found the best cotton-painters were making goods either for the indigenous courts or for export to Persia. (Some must also have been producing temple-hangings with Hindu mythological subject-matter, though few such hangings earlier than the eighteenth century now survive.) In the second half of the seventeenth century, European trade seems to have been paramount and made first claim on the best craftsmen, and it was at this time that many of them deserted their villages and migrated to the European settlements.

Details of the process of Indian cotton-painting have been described in a number of eye-witness accounts. The earliest was written in the 1680s from Palakollu in Golconda by the Dutch official Daniel Havart (already quoted). The second, by another Dutchman, Hendrick Adrian van Rheede, was written from Pulicat and published in 1688.[4] Both these are brief generalised descriptions and therefore of limited value compared with the more detailed and painstaking accounts of two French observers writing from Pondicherry about half a century later: Antoine Beaulieu, a naval officer in the French East India Company, in 1735 (published here in English translation at Appendix 'A'); and

[1] Daniel Havart, *Op-en Ondergang van Coromandel*, Amsterdam, 1693, vol.III, p.13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.14.
[3] John Fryer, *A new account of the East Indies and Persia*, London, 1909, p.90.
[4] Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol.II, part 3, pp.205–10. We are grateful to Mr John Hillen of Toronto for translating this passage for us.

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Father Cœurdoux, a Jesuit missionary, in 1742 (see Appendix 'B'). A fifth account was written in 1795 by the English botanist William Roxburgh, describing what he saw being done at Masulipatam (see Appendix 'C'); and a sixth by the Danish missionary J.P.Rottler writing from Tranquebar in 1802.[5] (See also Postscript, p.12.)

There are minor inconsistencies in these accounts, partly due to mistakes or misunderstandings of observation, and partly to regional variations of practice and of materials locally available. If similar eye-witness accounts existed of the methods followed in Western India, there would probably be yet further variations to note.[6] Yet, as far as the manufacture of *fine* cotton-paintings was concerned, the process is likely to have been substantially the same. Taking the Pondicherry evidence as the norm, these may be summarised as follows:

1. Preparation of the half-bleached cloth with an aqueous solution of fat and astringent (buffalo's milk mixed with myrobalan), followed by 'beetling' (laying the cloth on one piece of wood and beating it with another), which gave the smooth surface needed for painting.
2. 'Pouncing' the pattern or design, drawn on paper or glazed calico, by dusting powdered charcoal through the perforated outlines.
3. Drawing over the charcoal-traced outlines with a kind of pen made of two reeds pressed together and dipped in mordants (for black, acetate of iron; for red, a solution of alum tinted with sappan wood).[7]
4. First dipping of the cloth in a vat filled with red dye (derived from chay, a plant of the madder family), the effect being to further blacken the lines already black, and to develop the red outlines.
5. Covering the whole cloth with beeswax, except those parts wanted to appear blue and green. A bamboo 'brush', fitted with metal points, was used for this purpose, the fluid wax being released from a ball of hair and twisted hemp wound round the stem.
6. Dipping the cloth in a vat of indigo.
7. Removing the wax in boiling water.
8. Waxing of the lines required to appear as white within areas of red, followed by the painting of mordants (consisting of a solution of alum, tinted with sappan wood). The composition of the mordant varied according to the tones required in the next stage: a weak solution of alum gave pink; a stronger one, deep red; while the addition of iron gave violet.
9. Second dipping of the cloth in a vat filled with red dye (chay).
10. Application by brush of a decoction of a yellow dye of vegetable origin,[8] mixed sometimes with myrobolan and chay, to produce local yellow or (when superimposed on blue) green.

From the analysis of surviving pieces, it can be concluded that the cloth used as a basis for painting was usually of fine quality and of one of three widths: the narrowest, measuring about 95cm or just over a yard, corresponds to contemporary descriptions of cloth traded under the name of 'salempores' and 'percallaes'; the second, varying in width from just over 100cm to about 115cm (about 39 to 45in), corresponding to the usual size of 'morees'; and the third, from 172cm to about 315cm (5½ to 10½ft).[9] In the seventeenth century the latter widths are the exception rather than the rule (one instance being the hanging reproduced at p.14, fig.1) whereas by the middle of the eighteenth they had become fairly common. However, the practice of joining one or more widths prior to painting was never entirely superseded. The majority of cottons used for chintz may be described as tabby-woven with yarn in Z-singles, with simple selvages of between two and five pairs of warps. (There is one notable exception in the Gallery of English Costume, Manchester, which is a 2 × 2 twill.) It is noticeable that warp and weft are rarely balanced evenly, and that yarns vary so much in diameter as to make thread-counts misleading. Sometimes warps are paired (as, for instance, nos.19, 24 and 25, plates 17, 20 and 21). Others have paired warps and wefts (nos.20 and 60, plates 64a and 58).[10] Cloths woven for palampores, hangings, valances and petticoats were commonly marked at intervals with short shots of red cotton to indicate specified lengths.[11]

In the creation of large designs, and in the actual method of transferring a design to cloth, there were many variations of practice, both between one period and another and between different localities. In important centres of textile manufacture such as Banaras, famous for its brocades, or Kashmir, for its shawls, the preparation of

[5] Rottler's account has been translated into French and published with a commentary by Dorte Raaschou under the title 'Un document danois sur la fabrication des toiles peintes à Tranquebar aux Indes, à la fin du 18e siècle', *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Mulhouse, France, 1967 (no.4).

[6] The technique of cotton-*printing* as practised in Western India is described in an important manuscript recently discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, catalogued as F. Fr. 14614. This is a volume of 333 pages, written between 1678 and 1680, and now known as the Roques MS. Roques was a merchant of the Compagnie des Indes employed in Western India, and the document is a detailed account of the textile trade and manufacturing processes witnessed mainly at Ahmedabad, Burhanpur and Sironj, but it does not contain any reference to cotton-*painting*. The chapter describing the printing technique used at Ahmedabad has been published with a commentary by P.R. Schwartz under the title 'L'impression sur coton à Ahmedabad (Inde) en 1678', *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Mulhouse, France, 1966 (no.1), and a translation of this paper is due to appear shortly as a monograph published by the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad.

[7] The acetate of iron shows black in contact with the astringent already applied to the cloth; but as alum is colourless, tinting has to be added to show where the brush has been.

[8] According to a treatise on Indian cotton-painting associated with the Duke of Bourbon (d.1740) recently brought to light by Monsieur P.R.Schwartz, Indians also made yellow with iron mordant, which is yellowish in itself. The same source explains that the green derived from this yellow was *gros vilain vert* ('ugly dark green') and inferior to green derived from a vegetable source (in this context, Avignon berries). P.R.Schwartz, 'La Fabrique d'Indienne du Duc de Bourbon (1692–1740) au Chateau de Chantilly', *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, 1966, no.1.

[9] There is no contemporary description of the loom used for weaving the very wide widths, but the pit-treadle loom traditionally used in Madras and other parts of South India, manipulated by two or more weavers, could have been used for this purpose.

[10] It is clear from contemporary records that chintzes varied considerably both in quality of cloth and in the standard of 'painting'. In 1648 the Surat factors, receiving complaints from London, admitted to such blemishes: 'It is not improbable that the quilts you found damnified might become so through the painters neglect, who in haste of business (if they be not very carefully observed and looked unto) slubbers over them sleightly.' (*English factories in India, 1646–50*, p.2.) In 1713 the London directors were complaining to their Madras factors about 'the badness of Cloth' used for 'Moree chints'. India Office Records, Letter Book XV, p.149.

[11] Quite often the top and bottom of a palampore are marked either by a weft band running from selvage to selvage (composed of two or more shots of red cotton, as in the case of Cat. no.137, or by an indigo-blue band painted across from selvage to selvage as in Cat. nos.145 and 157). Such markings usually served as a measurement guide.

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designs was the job of the *naqqāsh*. There were in fact very few designers working at any one time. In Kashmir, for instance, at the height of the nineteenth-century export trade in shawls, there were said to have been only five or six *naqqāsh*-families responsible for all the new shawl designs produced.[12] The proportion is not likely to have been any higher (if as high) in the centres of cotton-painting. The impression we have is that 'new' designs were more often modified versions or re-combinations of old ones rather than new inventions in their own right. Many of the most fanciful and ostensibly exotic elements were introduced simply as the copyist's misinterpretation or misunderstanding of his model. A clear instance of this is the fantastic treatment of the urn as shown in no.16 (plate 14): not only have the handles diminished and changed into something meaningless, but the rim has become detached from the vase itself and is floating like a ring in the foreground of the tree-trunk, unrecognisable as a rim at all to anybody unfamiliar with the earlier stages in distortion. It is certainly true to say that the cotton-painters supplying the European market never created designs entirely out of their own head. They either worked from samples supplied by the foreign merchants or simply copied and re-adapted what had already been produced. In the case of the Early Coromandel Group (see pp.13–15), the subject-matter was largely derived from Persian or Deccani miniature paintings, and to a lesser extent from Chinese ceramics.[13] A third source was Jesuit engravings. But after the third quarter of the seventeenth century such sources were no longer used by cotton-painters specialising in the European market, and instead they depended largely on pattern-books or musters sent from England, Holland and France.

There are grounds for thinking that by this time the role of the *naqqāsh* had diminished in importance. In the 1680s, for instance, van Rheede noted that 'master-patterns' were used only in special cases, implying that most designs were memorized versions of what had been done before. Havart, writing at about the same time, refers to painters working with musters 'lying at their sides', but here the implication is that they were copying direct from musters of European origin, for he goes on to say: '[At Pallakollu] chintzes are painted according to musters which are given to the painters and which they then imitate completely and extremely well, for their national character is so stupid that they cannot imagine anything by themselves but can only imitate something so that it has a complete likeness.'[14] At Pondicherry, on the other hand, the cotton-painters are described as first drawing their designs on paper, which may have been a more general practice in that region.[15]

From these varying accounts we can conclude that at least three different methods were followed: (1) transference to cloth of a perforated-paper drawing; (2) direct free-hand drawing on cloth of a memorised design, and (3) direct free-hand drawing on cloth from a muster which lay at the painter's side.

A good example of the first method is provided by no.7 (plate 5) which is one of a set of six identical panels now divided between museums in Britain, Austria, the United States and India. All these are apparently derived from the same perforated-paper drawing, and the pouncing of the outlines was so meticulous that only the filler patterns inside the leaf- and flower-forms had to be added afterwards. A comparison of the borders of nos.17 and 18 (plates 15 and 16) suggests that these designs also had a common source, although in these cases the craftsmen have allowed themselves licence in adapting the original pattern to the size and shape of the panel it was to fit. Another comparison should be made between the trees in nos.16 and 17 (plates 14 and 15) which are variants of an ultimate common source. Another palampore (no.19, plate 17) has a design composed of a number of separately drawn pattern-sections, so ingeniously combined and reversed that in spite of having many small repeats, the total effect is surprisingly varied.[16]

The sending of actual musters from Europe to India for cotton-painters to copy or adapt is often mentioned in East India Company records, but so far no actual specimen has been known to survive.[17] In some cases, however, the source of a particular chintz design has been traced to its original European engraved source. For instance, nos.66, 67 and 68 (plates 66, 67, and 68b) are clearly based on compositions by the French designer Jean Berain (1638–1711); no.72 (plate 71) on a Don Quixote engraving by another Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Henri Bonnart (1678–1726); and no.79 (plate 76) on flower-engravings published in 1730 by the London nurseryman Robert Furber.

The Berain designs were already modified before being sent to India, whence they were fairly closely copied by the cotton-painter. The Don Quixote illustration, on the other hand, was freely adapted by the Indian copyist with an effect pleasing to anybody with a taste for the absurd. In the case of the Furber designs, there was apparently an intermediate version, from which the cotton-painter made further changes and adaptations, mainly on account of the English flowers being unfamiliar to him.

Another design with a European source is no.168 (plate 146a and b), which can be traced to a woodblock pattern made in France in the late eighteenth century for the Oberkampf factory at Jouy (see p.35, fig.26).

The very high reputation of 'Masulipatam chintz', or 'Golconda chintz', as it was otherwise known, was commonly attributed to the superiority of the red dye. William Methwold, who served as agent for the English East India Company at Masulipatam between 1618 and 1622, explained that this superiority derived from 'a plant which groweth only in this country [Golconda], called by them Chay, which dyeth or stayneth a perfect red, with them in

[12] John Irwin, *Shawls: a study in Indo-European influences*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1955, p.7.

[13] Motifs taken from Chinese ceramics are often found in cotton-paintings of the Early Coromandel Group.

[14] Daniel Havart, *Op-en Ondergang van Coromandel*, Amsterdam, 1693, p.13.

[15] See Appendix 'B', p.46.

[16] Another instance is illustrated in two palampores in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. nos.17.98 and 30.96.2. They have a nearly identical tree-form but significant difference in the disposition of flowers and foliage and in some instances entirely different flowers. (See K.B.Brett, 'The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.III, pp.48 and 53, fig.4.)

[17] An exception, of course, is the copying of coats-of-arms and their incorporation in the designs of textiles commissioned for individual patrons, which was a common practice. D'Allemagne (vol.I, p.43) quotes in this connection a letter from Pondicherry dated 18th January, 1731: '... If you send your coat-of-arms I could reproduce them on serviettes à café or a little porcelain service. It is today the great fashion, all the naval officers and some [of the Company's] employees have had them made on commission for France.'

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as great account as scarlet with us ...'[18] A decade later, when there was a question of the English company giving up its settlement at Petaboli in Golconda, the agents there insisted that it must be continued at all costs '... chiefly for the reds, because no other place affords the like colour.'[19] As a matter of fact, Methwold was incorrect in saying that the Chay plant grew only in Golconda. It was widely cultivated on the Madras coast as well. What distinguished the Chay of Golconda was that in this region it grew wild on the tidal flats of the Kistna delta, where there was said to be a high proportion of 'broken or rotten shells' in the estuarine soil. Early writers knew there was a connection between the superiority of the dye and these particular conditions of growth, but the connection was not understood scientifically. Only a trained dye-chemist of a later era could explain that the 'broken or rotten shells' were a rich source of calcium, now recognised as a unique fixing-agent for madder-type dyes.

In spite of the superior and distinctive qualities of Golconda Chay, it is not possible to say that all chintzes with the best reds were necessarily of Golconda origin. Contemporary records show that East India Company agents sometimes took trouble to supply their cotton-painters in the Madras region with what they called the 'Northern', or Golconda, Chay, in preference to the locally-cultivated plant, although not always with success.[20]

As we have explained, madder-dyeing was done at two separate stages: the first followed the drawing of outlines; and the second was done at a later stage when it was required to produce gradations in the design, the variations between a light pink and a deep red being achieved by varying the strength of the alum mordant. At this latter stage wax was used to reserve the fine filler-patterns within areas of red and violet. Sometimes a mordant was spattered on the cotton to make a speckled or mottled ground (nos.62 and 63, plates 60b, 62b and 64b, and 61 and 65). There is no contemporary reference to this process but it is evident that a resist was applied to protect the other parts of the design.

Analysis of indigo-blue used in chintz raises certain questions which cannot at present be answered with any degree of certainty. For instance, it will be noticed in the few surviving seventeenth-century pieces that blue is used in only very limited areas and that it is always light in hue. In the Ashburnham panels (no.7, colour plate 1), and in the later piece (no.25, colour plate 4) this light blue is used almost exclusively as a basis for green. Most eighteenth-century chintzes, on the other hand, feature a deep, rich blue which, since the disappearance of fugitive yellows, often appears as the dominant colour. How can we explain this difference between indigo-blues of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? The answer may have some connection with the fact that indigo-dyeing under conditions of large-scale manufacture was an independent and specialised craft, its practitioners being exclusively engaged in this activity. By the late seventeenth century, when the chintz industry was well organised and at its peak, it seems to have been a normal custom that at a certain stage of manufacture chintz cloth was handed over to the indigo-dyers (presumably after waxing) who worked under sub-contract, returning the cloth to the cotton-painter for completion. Yet it is doubtful if this procedure would necessarily have been followed at an earlier period when production was on a smaller scale. It is quite possible that at this earlier stage cotton-painters applied their own indigo-blue without the intervention of the specialist. This would help to explain why indigo-blue played a much smaller part in colour-schemes, and it may further lead us to question whether the blue of these earlier chintzes was invariably vat-dyed, or whether it was sometimes applied by brush. Beaulieu says clearly that the blue dyer, after having taken the cloth from the indigo vat, 'applied the liquid [indigo] to those parts that in his opinion have not taken properly', thus indicating that brush application was at least recognised as feasible, notwithstanding the limitations inevitably associated with this technique.[21] Among the pieces catalogued here, there is at least one of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (no.48) which provides indisputable evidence of the blue having been applied in this way.

Apart from the rare exception, however, there is little doubt that normal practice in the eighteenth century was for indigo to be vat-dyed by specialist craftsmen. In other words, those parts not intended to be blue, green, or a certain red-violet were first waxed and then immersed in an indigo-vat. Van Rheede, Beaulieu, Coeurdoux and Roxburgh all describe the application of wax but say nothing about its consistency. The lines, dottings and fillings drawn in with liquid wax are, in many chintzes, extraordinarily fine and intricate and are witness to a remarkable control of a medium, the natural inclination of which, in liquid form, is to spread. This would have been controlled by the rice starch with which the cotton was impregnated before this step in the process was begun (see pp.38–9). But, in contrast to the fine lines, the solid areas of blue are often crudely edged, failing to coincide exactly with the outlines of the drawing. This reminds us of Coeurdoux's description of how the cloth, after waxing, was left to lie in the sun just long enough to allow the wax to penetrate and was then rubbed by hand on the wrong side. If the wax had been unevenly applied in the first place, the inevitable result would have been an effect of careless edging.

The handling of the cloth after waxing and its folding

[18] *Relations of Golconda*, ed. by W. H. Moreland, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, vol.66, 1930, p.35.

[19] Letter from Masulipatam factors dated 25-10-1634. *English factories in India, 1634–36*, pp.46–7.

[20] Thomas Pitt, writing from Madras on 11th February, 1699, reported: 'I have with all diligence encouraged the painting trade, and have been at some Charge to do it, without any manner of partiality I think we far out doe Metchlepatam [Masulipatam], and hope by the next Ship to send you a thousand pieces, Such as were never seen in the world, if I can but Keep these Cursed fellows from mixing the Southern Chay with the Northern, the latter being the best and costs much more ...' British Museum, Additional MS. 22842, f.31.

[21] Indigo – unlike madder-type dyes – adheres mechanically and forms no lake on the fibres; therefore it is not fast to rubbing. However, when a cloth is vat-dyed at the indigo-white stage, this greatly enhances its fixing-quality. The difficulties concerned with brush-application, as opposed to vat-dyeing, stem from the fact that once in contact with air the indigo-white rapidly loses its fixing quality. The problem was overcome in eighteenth-century Europe by the discovery of the orpiment vat. This involved the reduction of indigo from an insoluble to a soluble state with sulphate of arsenic (orpiment) and lime, which was then thickened with gum (in this connection, see P. R. Schwartz, 'L'application du Bleu d'Indigo', *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, 1953, no.2). There is no evidence, however, that this method was known in India prior to this, and if it had been it would surely have been used widely. If in fact the seventeenth-century cotton-painters *did* apply indigo with a brush, this would explain the inferiority of the blues of seventeenth-century chintzes to those of the eighteenth century.

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for immersion in the dye-bath required especial care. Evidence of cracking, except at the edges, is rare, and one can only suppose that the climate and perhaps the addition of suitable ingredients helped to keep the wax in pliable condition throughout the operation.[22] Coeurdoux tells us that, after waxing, the cotton was folded once with the right side out. Invariably on Indian chintzes the blue appears brighter and more even on the right side, where oxidisation has been more uniform, but a single fold would make only the smallest pieces manageable in the dye-vat. Beaulieu on the other hand tells us that when waxing was completed, the painter 'folded the cloth into pleats of about four inches.' Faint traces of such folds are sometimes recognisable on surviving fabrics,one of the clearest examples being the large palampore, no.137 (plate 120). At regular intervals, about four inches apart, down each selvage there are fine hair-breadth cracks, an inch or so in length, shooting out at right angles to the blue band at the edges. When the cotton is folded at these cracks the pleats on each side match exactly. Degrees of dye penetration on the blue bands vary considerably and coincide with the pleats, the parts outside being darker than those inside the folds. Further examination of this palampore shows that at the centre of its top and bottom edges there is a very short vertical crack indicating that the cotton had been folded in two. Pleated, and then folded thus, a large palampore becomes a manageable bundle for the dyer to handle.

In some chintzes there are two shades of blue (eg. nos.19 and 79, plates 17 and 76). This would have been achieved by a repetition of the waxing and dyeing operation, the second application of wax being required to protect the light blue from further dye penetration. This meant unfolding and repleating the chintz, both very delicate operations, yet in neither of these large palampores is there any indication of cracking.

The yellows were not invariably applied direct. If yellow was required for the ground, the rest of the design was then 'reserved' and the cloth dipped in a yellow dye-vat (this is clearly evident in no. 177, plate 153a). When the ground was to be green, the dyeing of the yellow may have followed the indigo bath before the wax was removed. This was certainly done in Western India, where blue was employed almost exclusively for green. If the application of yellow followed immediately after the indigo dyeing, as described by Roxburgh, this would be a simple matter. Besides being used over blue for green, yellow was sometimes painted over red for orange.

Many chintzes survive with a glazed finish, and it is possible that all were once like this. Roxburgh writes of the 'processes which prepare it for market, viz, starching, beetling and chanking ...'[23] Rice starch was used for this, being made to impregnate the fabric very thoroughly, and traces are still found in most of the surviving chintzes. The cotton was then 'chanked' or burnished to a satin-like sheen, the instrument being a chank-shell. More than one seventeenth-century observer remarked on the similarity between chintz and satin,[24] and Celia Fiennes was almost certainly looking at chintz when she described a set of bed-hangings as 'white India sattin with gold and crimson flowers printed'.[25]

A final touch of richness was sometimes added by outlining the design with gold and silver leaf (for instance, no. 168, plate 146a and b). There are no contemporary descriptions of the technique, which might have been introduced from Persia, since Chardin describes the Persians as being skilled in printing gums which served as adhesive for gold and silver leaf.[26] The gilded chintzes catalogued here have been painted with adhesives, to which the leaf was then applied and finally burnished.[27]

Before leaving the subject of technique and conditions of manufacture, something must be said about the stamp-marks and other insignia which commonly appear on the backs of chintzes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These may be classified into four separate categories:

1. *Toshkhāna* or storehouse seals. These are rectangular imprints filled with Persian calligraphy. They are not found on chintzes shipped to Europe but commonly appear on those which found their way into royal or feudal establishments in India. Because of overlapping between the internal and foreign trade – particularly in the early seventeenth century – these chintzes are sometimes similar to those reaching Europe. A *toshkhāna* seal was the conventional means of identifying a fabric as belonging to the storehouse (*toshkhana*) of a particular ruler or noble. The only example among chintzes in this catalogue is no.1 (plate 1), which bears the *toshkhāna* seal of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber (1622–68). It follows that impressions of this kind are of no direct relevance to the subject of Indo-European cotton-painting, yet they are sometimes found on the backs of chintzes which have been acquired in recent times from heirs of feudal establishments in India.

2. Insignia of the English and Dutch East India Companies. All the insignia so far found on chintzes imported by the English company post-date the year 1708 when the United East India Company was formed, hence they comprise a circle containing the initials 'VEIC', the letter 'V' being an early form of 'U'.[28] The Dutch used the initials 'VOC' (Vereenigte Oostindische Compagnie), also contained within a circle, and sometimes including a date (eg. no.19, plate 17). The practice of stamping was by no means consistently followed by either the Dutch or the English company, and there is no way of knowing if these particular impressions were applied before or after painting.

3. Inscriptions in Telegu. These are short inscriptions usually reserved in white against the blue of the narrow outer bands sometimes surrounding palampores. Telegu is

[22] Hadaway describes the wax as 'being more or less brittle, when hard ... it often cracks when folded and then blue lines ... are often seen'. W.S.Hadaway, *Cotton painting in the Madras Presidency*, 1917, p.7.

[23] See above, note 35.

[24] Thomas Bowrey, *Geographical account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal 1669–79*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1905, p.71.

[25] *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. by C. Morris, London, 1947, p.346.

[26] J.Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, 1735, vol.III, p.120.

[27] Four of the gilded chintzes (nos.18, 99, 166 and 168) have been examined under laboratory conditions. In three cases the adhesive proved to be insoluble in water, yet became soft in contact with water. In the fourth case (no.166) the adhesive was not visible. Simple micro-chemical tests showed that the adhesive was vegetable in origin. There was no evidence of resins, but there were indications that glues had been employed.

[28] For detailed evidence on the dating of East India Company stamp-marks, see John Irwin, 'Insignia of the English East India Company', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.IV, 1959, pp.78–9.

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the language of modern Andhra State, which includes not only the territory of former Golconda State but also the important cotton-painting region of Kalahasti and Pulicat, about eighty miles north of Madras city. The inscriptions were written in molten wax, immediately prior to the stage of indigo-dyeing, a method ill-suited to calligraphy with the result that they are usually difficult to read. When legible, they seem to be either names or abbreviations of names. It is not known whose names they record, but a plausible guess is that they represent the 'signatures' of cotton-painters who found it a convenient way of marking their fabrics before sending them to the indigo-dyer. Without some such marking, it must have been easy for the indigo-dyer to confuse the work of one cotton-painter with that of another. The presence of a Telegu inscription indicates that the particular chintz came from one of the centres lying to the north of Madras city, although some allowance must be made for migration of craftsmen from Golconda southwards after the middle of the seventeenth century. Typical examples of Telegu inscriptions are found on nos.16, 17, 18, and 19.

4. Inscriptions in Tamil. These are usually square imprints in black bearing either one or two Tamil letters, often crudely stamped or stencilled so that they are difficult to read. A general blurring of the imprint suggests that they were applied to the cloth before or during the long series of preparations and washings which accompanied each stage of painting and dyeing. This is confirmed by the stamp on the back of no.45, which shows signs of the ink having been washed through the interstices of the fabric, even penetrating to the other side where it is overpainted by a yellow vermicelli ground (one of the final stages of the painting process). This conclusion is further supported by the evidence of the Roques MS. (see p.8, fn.6). Roques recommended that cottons should be stamped with identification marks immediately on receipt from the weaver, and before being sent for printing, using for this purpose diluted copperas 'which turns black in the cauldron' (ie. at the first stage of mordant dyeing), thus producing a permanent and indelible identification mark.[29] The brownish-black hue of surviving stamp-marks is consistent with this description of application by a method analogous to the use of a metallic mordant. (Roques mentions copperas, but of course any metallic mordant would have equally well served the purpose.)

Miss Margaret Hall, who has made a careful examination of Tamil stamp-marks on chintzes in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and to whom we are indebted for access to her detailed notes on the subject, has concluded that the letters are mostly variations or corruptions of Tamil '*ka*' and '*ku*'. 'The Tamil stamp-marks,' she writes, 'always occur at one end of the woven cloth, near the selvage, and are often found close to the shots of red cotton inserted by the weaver to mark the lengths of his work [see p.8]. On made-up articles and garments, they are often revealed only after most careful search of the seams and hems. They were put on at the time the cloth was sent to the painters. Where two symbols occur on a seal, the second one varies; but only two types are known, despite idiosynerasies of drawing. The seals with two symbols seem to occur only on pieces from sets of hangings, or on palampores which may have formed part of sets. Before the work of painting started, the brokers marked the cloth with an indelible seal as Company property (both *ka* and *ku* are pronounced very short and could be used as an abbreviation for the word "Company");[30] and also ensured that through the long series of processes of painting and dyeing, the sets of pieces remained in their correct groups and could be identified for packing and return to the Company when the work was done.'

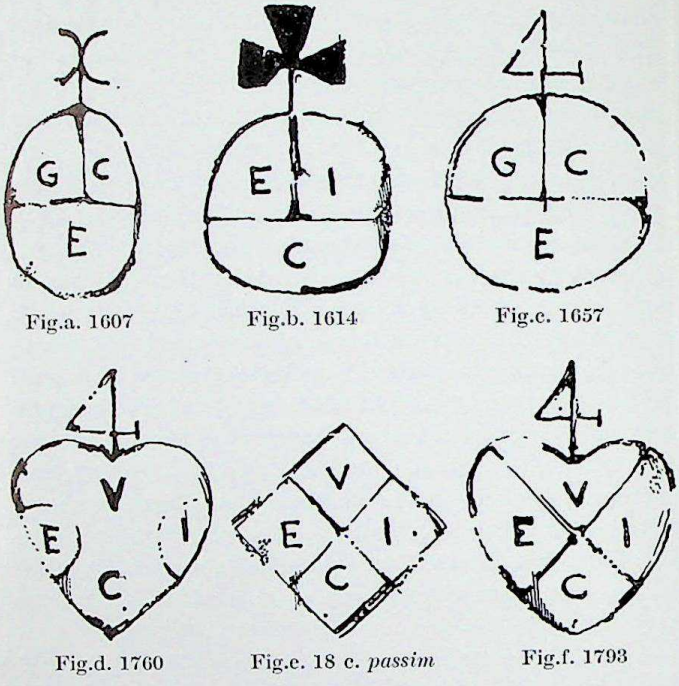

Fig.a. 1607 Fig.b. 1614 Fig.c. 1657

Fig.d. 1760 Fig.e. 18 c. *passim* Fig.f. 1793

Some typical insignia of the English East India Company. The initials 'G.C.E.' which appear on most 17th-century stamps represent an abbreviation of the original title of the Company, as given in the first charter: 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies.' The sources are as follows: Fig.a. India Office Archives, Marine Records, Misc., vol.IV, p.11. Fig.b. *Letters received by the EIC*, vol.II, London, 1897, p.204. Fig.c. India Office Archives, Letter Book II, f.69, *et seq.* Fig.d. Depicted in a painting, *The Old East India Wharf*, by Samuel Scott, Victoria and Albert Museum (1–1866). Fig.e. Commonly appearing on textiles throughout 18th century. Fig.f. Engraved on a dated flintlock in Victoria and Albert Museum (I.M.68–1912).

[29] P.R.Schwartz, 'L'impression sur coton à Ahmedabad en 1678', *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Mulhouse, France, 1966 (no.1), p.6.

[30] At the present stage of our knowledge, this theory must be regarded as speculative. Apart from the Roques MS. already mentioned, the only contemporary evidence about cloth stamping is a reference in the Madras records to the fact that *musters* were indelibly stamped before being given to the brokers.

Postscript

When this book was already in press, we heard of the discovery of yet another eighteenth-century eye-witness account of the technique of the South Indian cotton-painters. This is by Pierre Poivre, who was in India between 1745 and 1747. His manuscript has recently been published in France (see Bibliography under Poivre).

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Chapter 4

Early Coromandel group: 1600 to 1650

The cotton-paintings classified as 'Early Coromandel', of which hardly more than twenty pieces are known to survive, are the earliest and also among the most impressive specimens of that class of work from which the Indo-European 'chintz' tradition subsequently developed.[1] When first studied a decade ago, the name given to them was the 'Golconda school' on the assumption that they were all painted at centres within the Muslim-ruled state of Golconda, the territory of which roughly corresponds with the northern half of the modern state of Andhra. Recently, however, it has been recognised that within this group there are two distinct (yet related) schools, and that only one of these flourished within Golconda. The second school is identified with the Madras–Pulicat region about 150 miles to the south. The nomenclature now adopted for the group as a whole is 'Early Coromandel Group'; and for its two separate schools, 'Golconda school' and 'Madras–Pulicat school'. The distinguishing characteristics may be summarised as follows:

Golconda school: centred at Petaboli (*alias* Nizampatam). Subject-matter conspicuously Islamic and Persian; the border patterns usually borrowed or adapted from contemporary Persian pile-carpet designs.[2] See plate 1.

Madras–Pulicat school: from the coastal hinterland bounded by Pulicat on the north, and St Thomé (now part of Madras city) on the south. The designs are usually conceived within some kind of architectural framework, the human figures being set within decorative niches or alcoves. Hindu elements are conspicuous, the dominant stylistic influence being Vijayanagar art. The borders when broad are usually filled with a continuous panorama of human figures, fauna and flora.[3] See plate 2, and figs.1, 2 and 3.

The Muslim and Persian influences in the first, and the Hindu–Vijayanagar influence in the second, are to some extent a logical reflection of political realities. Between the two regions was the frontier separating Muslim-ruled Golconda from the petty Hindu states of the Madras coast collectively known as the Polygars. Linguistically, the same boundary marked a division between a wholly Telegu-speaking population to the north, and a mixed Telegu and Tamil-speaking population to the south. Yet, transcending these differences of local tradition was the uniting factor of trade. Both areas manufactured a similar class of goods for the same foreign merchants, and since the only good harbour on this part of the coast was at Masulipatam in Golconda, this port served to some extent as the emporium for both regions. The French traveller Thévenot, in his description of Masulipatam in 1666, specifically states that its exports of cotton-paintings included 'many brought from St Thomé [Madras]', which together with those from Golconda were reputed to be 'much finer and of better colours than those of any other parts of the Indies'.[4] To the foreign merchant buying at the port all such goods, whether of Madras or Golconda origin, were known as 'Masulipatam paintings'.

The predominantly Persian influence in the Golconda school is explained by the fact that the Muslim rulers of Golconda were of Persian origin and cultivated in a most deliberate way the tastes and fashions of the Safavid court. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, who ruled from 1580 to 1611 married one of his daughters to Shāh' Abbās the Great and between 1603 and 1609 kept an embassy of a hundred Persians at his capital. Moreover, the Golconda rulers and their nobles had direct stakes in sea-commerce with Persia, upon which depended the regular supply of horses required for the state cavalry.[5] Cotton-paintings designed for the Persian market were one of the main commodities traded in exchange. The recurring use of Persian carpet motifs in the borders of the cotton-paintings is a reminder that there was a settlement of Persian carpet-weavers at Ellore, about seventy miles north of Masulipatam. These weavers were described in 1679 as making 'the best carpetts after the manner of those in Persia' and as having been

[1] The whole group, with the exception of one piece in Baroda Museum in Gujarat, and another recently acquired by the British Museum, has been published by J. Irwin, in 'Golconda cotton paintings of the early seventeenth century', *Lalit Kala*, no.5, 1959, pp.8–48, which was the first systematic attempt to classify this material.

[2] For others in this category, see J. Irwin, *op. cit.*, plates 'A', II, III, XII (fig.16), XIII (fig.17), XIV (fig.18) and XV (figs.19 and 20).

[3] *Ibid.*, plate I, IV, V, VI (figs.6–13), X (fig.14), XI (fig.15), XVI (fig.21).

[4] Jean de Thévenot, *Relation d'un Voyage*, Paris, 1684, troisième partie, Livre second, p.310. The wording of the first edition is ambiguous: 'On y fait un grand trafic de Schites, parcequ'outre celles qui s'y font, on y en apporte quantité de Saint-Thomé, qui sont beaucoup plus fines & mieux colorées que celles du reste des Indes.' Having first read the French third edition, which substitutes a semi-colon for the comma after 'Saint-Thomé', we had previously been misled into thinking that Thévenot regarded the local Golconda chintz as finer than that of St Thomé (J. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p.14, fn.2). In fact, as pointed out in chapter 1 (p.2 fn.10) there are risks in accepting too literally the descriptions of seventeenth century travellers, since they were seldom the authors of the texts as published. Thévenot's book, for instance, was written by Pétis de Lacroix after the former's death, and in the preface he remarked that he often had the greatest difficulty in understanding the meaning of Thévenot's notes.

[5] The importance of the horse-trade is discussed by P. M. Joshi, 'Relations between the Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa', published in *A volume of Indian Studies presented to Sir E. Denison Ross*, edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, Bombay, 1939, pp.162–63. It was on one of these ships (actually belonging to the 'King of Golconda') that the well-known French traveller Tavernier first reached India in 1652.

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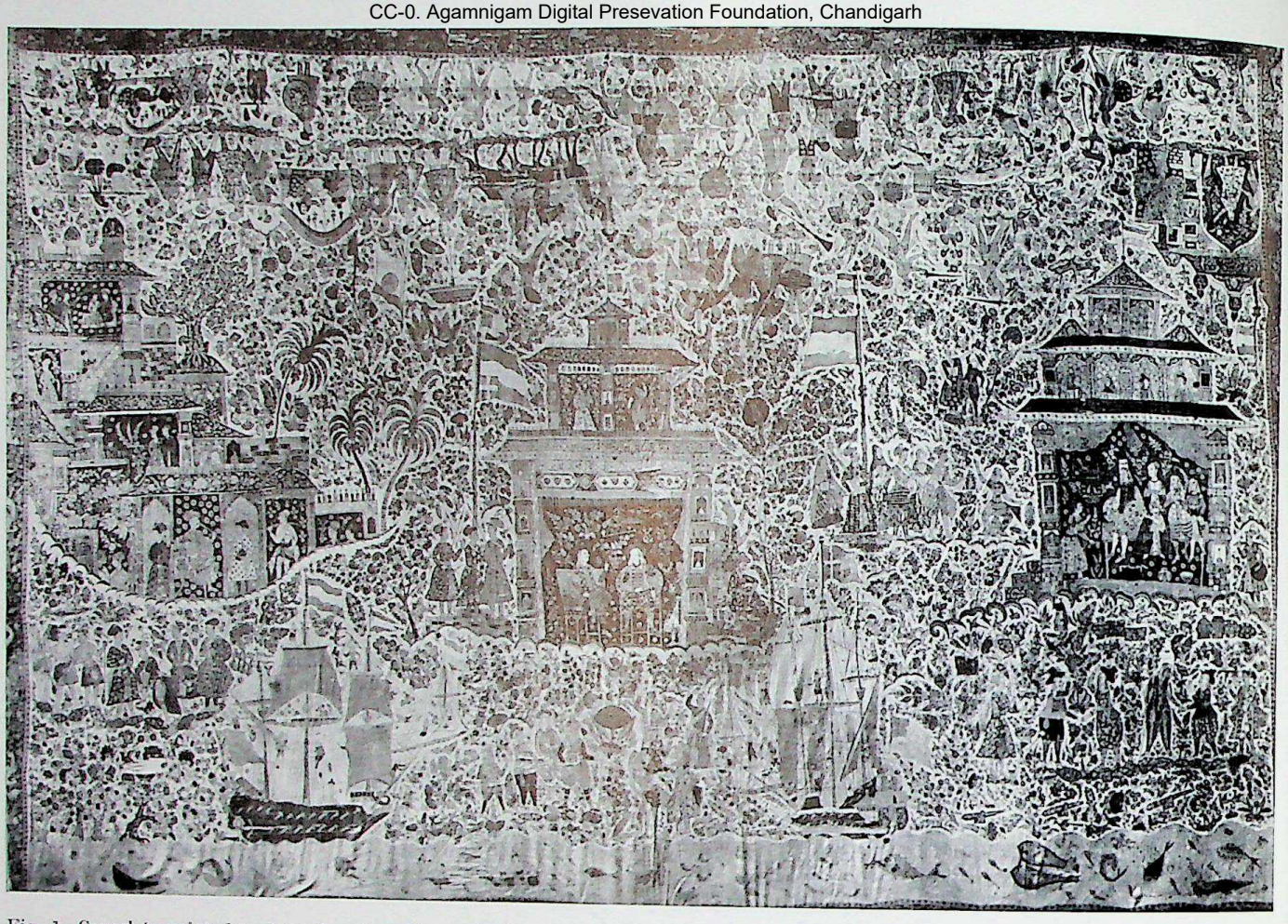

Fig. 1. Coverlet: painted and dyed cotton. From Madras–Pulicat region, 1640–50. 226cm × 284·3cm. *Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, acc. no. 12132*

Fig. 2. Part of a hanging: painted and dyed cotton. From Madras–Pulicat region, 1635–45. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Given by Mrs Albert Blum, acc. no.20.79*

brought from Persia to Golconda about a hundred years previously.[6]

The contemporary style of the Madras–Pulicat school, on the other hand, shows no direct Persian influence. Instead, it is imbued with what might be called the fantasy of the Hindu imagination. Close parallels can be recognised with the style of Hindu mural paintings which survive at Lepakshi and Anugundi, both of which sites were formerly part of the Hindu Vijayanagar kingdom. When this kingdom was destroyed in 1565 by a confederacy of Islamic forces, most of its artists and craftsmen are known to have fled south and sought whatever patronage they could find in the small Polygar states of the Coromandel coast. A secondary influence is that of European (especially Jesuit) art. This is explained by the presence at St Thomé of a Jesuit mission which had been active there since 1547 when, under Portuguese patronage, the church dedicated to the Expectation of the Blessed Virgin had been built.

The very high reputation of 'Masulipatam paintings' was commonly attributed to the superiority of the red dye used locally. As explained in chapter 3 (pp.9–10), this superiority derived from the high calcium content of the estuarine sands in which the Chay dye-plant grew wild. Since the same advantage did not apply to the soils further south, it might be expected that Golconda cotton-paintings are distinguishable by the quality of their red dyes. This test is certainly valid for the Golconda pieces catalogued here, the reds in each case being distinctly more

[6] *Records of Fort St George: Diary and Consultation Book, 1679–80*, Madras, 1912, p.100. Also J. Irwin, 'Indian textile trade in the 17th century', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.2, 1956, pp.36–7.

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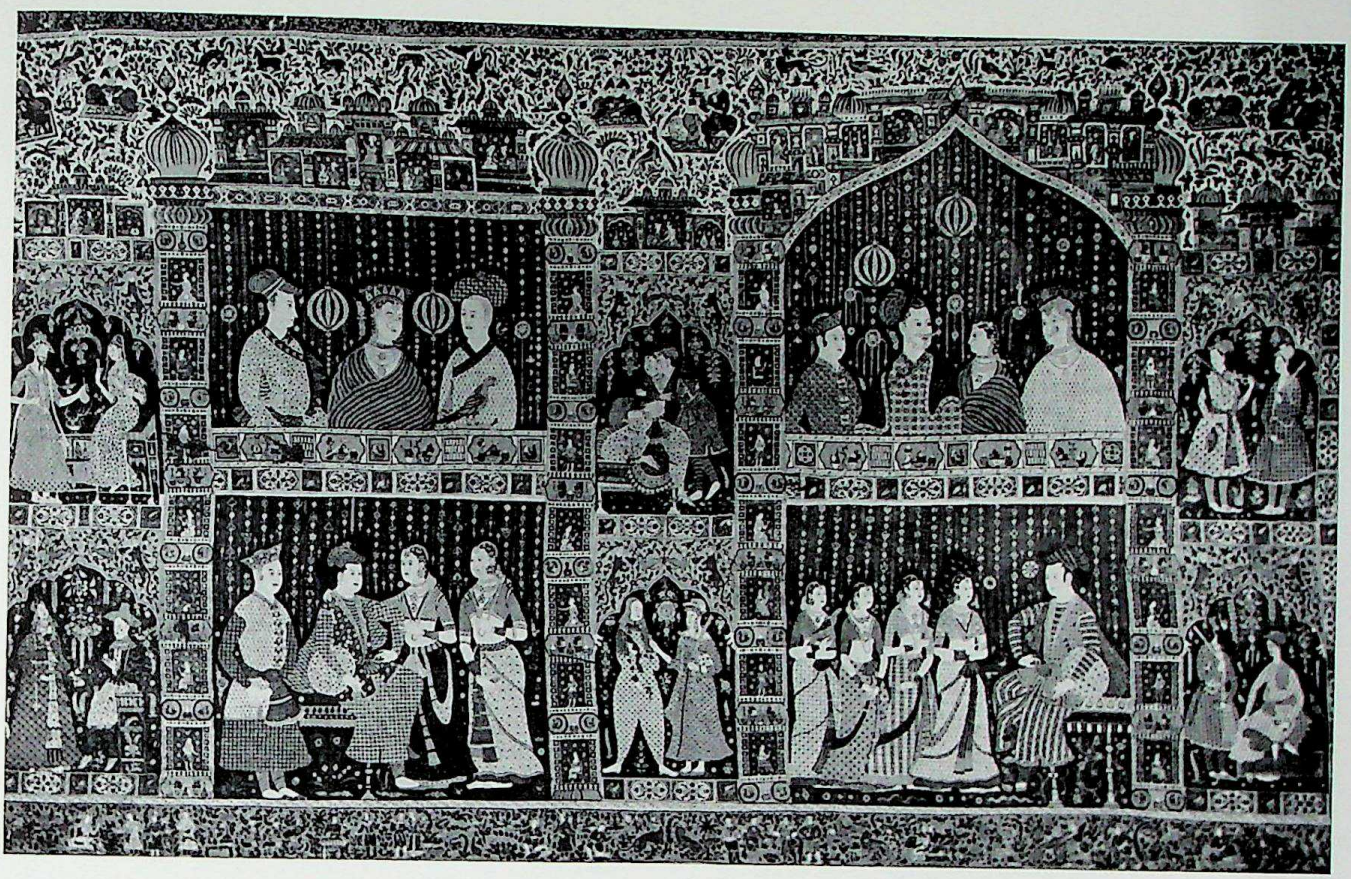

Fig. 3. Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. From Madras–Pulicat region, 1640–50. 213.5cm × 427cm. *Calico Museum, Ahmedabad*

luminous. But caution is needed. There is definite evidence at the end of the seventeenth century that imported Golconda chay was being used in Madras for the best class of work, and it would be unsafe to assume that this never happened at earlier periods.

Aesthetically, the two early Coromandel schools of cotton-painting have much in common, and this identity becomes even more striking when contrasted with contemporary styles of European tapestry or painted hangings. Unlike the pictorial themes of European tapestry, which are in essence the vision of the easel-painter transferred to the loom, the Coromandel cotton-painters used pictorial themes only as subordinate elements in designs which were conceived purely decoratively. Thus, no matter how hybrid or eclectic the individual elements, they were transcended by a unifying decorative style which owed nothing to foreign inspiration and was in fact characteristically Indian.

Europe received these early Coromandel cotton-paintings as exotic curiosities. Shipment of such goods in bulk to Europe had hardly begun, and most of those reaching the West had been brought by individual serving officers as permitted articles of private trade. It was probably a specimen of this school that the diarist Evelyn saw in Lady Mordaunt's house at Ashley Park in 1665 and described as 'full of figures great and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits ...'[7] The actual quantities produced were extremely small compared with the greatly expanded manufacture of the last quarter of the century, and the French traveller Tavernier was probably correct when he wrote of the Golconda cotton-painters in 1652 that, when the services of every available craftsman are engaged, it is with difficulty that one can raise as many as three bales of finished goods.[8] In fact by this time Golconda cotton-painting was already a declining industry. Harassed and oppressed by a corrupt and ruthless local administration more and more weavers and dyers were fleeing for protection to the foreign settlements.[9] Many of them emigrated with their skills across the border and into the Madras region. This immigration suited the English and the Dutch who, from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, were faced with ever-increasing demands for fine-quality cotton-painting, and therefore welcomed any augmentation of their skilled labour force.

In 1687 the state of Golconda was annexed by force to the Mughal empire and its oppressive dynasty was expunged. However, the centres of cotton-painting under native administration did not regain their former importance. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that a new industry, combining the techniques of painting and block-printing, began to flourish under the control of Persian merchants in the vicinity of Masulipatam. Its products were designed mainly for the Persian market.

[7] Evelyn's *Diary*, Oxford, 1955, entry for 30th December, 1665.
[8] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Nouvelle Relation*, Paris, 1675, Livre second, ch.xii.
[9] This at times proved an embarrassment to the European traders. For instance, when negotiations took place in 1634 between the English East India Company and the Golconda authorities for the 'sole government' of Mallavol, near Masulipatam, the population at once 'doubled itself in magnitude, soe fast doe the poor people flocke hither from the Moorish tirrany'. *English factories in India, 1634–6*, ed. by W. Foster, Oxford, 1911, p.48.

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Chapter 5

The flowering tree

The flowering-tree motif which for more than a hundred years dominated the designs of large palampores and hangings is one of the most distinctive and appealing features of Indo-European chintz. In its most familiar and characteristic form it consists of a tree with serpentine trunk and branches growing on a mound or rockery, often with partly exposed roots, and bearing a profusion of fruits, flowers and foliage of mixed and multifarious botanical association. Such a fanciful conception strikes the westerner as essentially exotic and reminiscent of the 'Tree of Life' symbolism of the ancient Near East. Yet, research in recent years has shown that the flowering tree of Indian chintz is neither an ancient inheritance nor wholly oriental, but the hybrid product of particular cultural cross-influences which prevailed under particular trading conditions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Although there is an undeniably Indian contribution to the finished style, it is none the less clear that the sources are polygenous, combining the most diverse and disparate cultural elements: Hindu, Islamic, Chinese and European. The odd thing is that the flowering-tree palampore appears no less exotic to Asian eyes than it does to European. Observed from either standpoint, its inspiration seems to be alien, irreconcilable with the observer's own culture.

To understand how such a hybrid style came into being, we must start in the sixteenth century, before it existed. At this time the only kind of oriental art familiar in the capitals of western Europe was Chinese. Products of China were then arriving in Portuguese ships and being sold not only in the markets of Lisbon and Antwerp but also in the fashionable 'China shops' of London's Royal Exchange. Hence the art of China became synonymous with the art of the 'East Indies', and so vague were current notions of Asian history and geography that the existence of India as a separate and culturally autonomous part of the East Indies was not yet generally recognised.

Thus when Sir Thomas Roe – a man of wide knowledge and advanced dilettante tastes for his period – arrived in India in 1615 to take up his appointment as James I's ambassador to the Mughal court, he was both surprised and disappointed to learn that Chinese arts and crafts were not to be found in India. 'I thought all India a China shop,' he wrote, 'and that I should furnish all my friends with rarities; but this is not that part. Here are almost no Civil Arts, but such as the straggling Christians have lately taught.'[1] And again, later the same year: 'Here are none of the rarities of India [sic]; they all come from the Eastern part [China], and are as dear as in England.'[2] In other words, oriental or 'East Indian' art was identified exclusively with China. The art products of Hindu India were so alien and unfamiliar as to be beneath notice – except, as we shall see again later, those the Hindu learned from the foreigner.

Roe's disillusionment had been earlier felt by the Islamic invaders of India. Even the Emperor Babur (1526–30), founder of the Mughal dynasty, had recorded in his memoirs a haughty disdain for all Hindu craftsmanship,[3] and it was left to his successors – especially Akbar (1556–1605) and Jahangir (1605–27) – to improve the situation to the Mughal taste by introducing foreign craftsmen to train Indians in new styles and techniques. Turks, Persians and Italians were among those known to have been brought in; and simultaneously court craftsmen were despatched to the Portuguese settlements to study and emulate whatever they could find there.[4] From these mixed influences there gradually emerged the eclectic tradition of Mughal art.

But Mughal art was at this stage a localised and courtly tradition. Its influence had not yet penetrated the centres of cotton-painting where, as explained in chapter 3 (pp.7, 9), craftsmen were self-employed members of a Hindu caste community, inheriting their craft experience within a closed social circle. These very conditions, so conducive to the accumulation of craft skill and its transference from one generation to the next, also made for extreme conservatism in matters of taste and habit. The one quality the Hindu cotton-painter conspicuously lacked as a craftsman was power of invention. If required to produce anything new, he could do so only by copying a model placed before him. 'Their national character is so stupid', wrote the Dutchman Havart, 'that they cannot imagine anything by themselves, but can only imitate something so that it has a complete likeness.'[5] In fact,

[1] In a letter to the Earl of Southampton dated 15th February, 1616. *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Hakluyt Society, London, vol.I, 1899, p.134.

[2] In a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood dated 30th January, 1617. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series* (*East Indies, 1513–1616*), ed. by W.N.Sainsbury, London, 1862, p.457, no.1087.

[3] *Memoirs of Babur*, trans. A.S.Beveridge, London, 1922, vol.II, p.518.

[4] *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. H.S.Jarrett, Calcutta, 1894, vol.III, pp.207 and 322. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. A.Rogers, London, 1909, vol.I, p.215.

[5] Daniel Havart, *Op-en Ondergang van Coromandel*, Amsterdam, 1693, vol.III, p.13. A similar observation was made by Pelseart after visiting Agra in 1626: '... the city contains all sorts of artisans in great numbers who can imitate neatly whatever they see, but design nothing by themselves.' F.Pelseart, *Remonstrantie*, trans. by W.H. Moreland and P.Geyl under the title of *Jahangir's India*, London, 1925.

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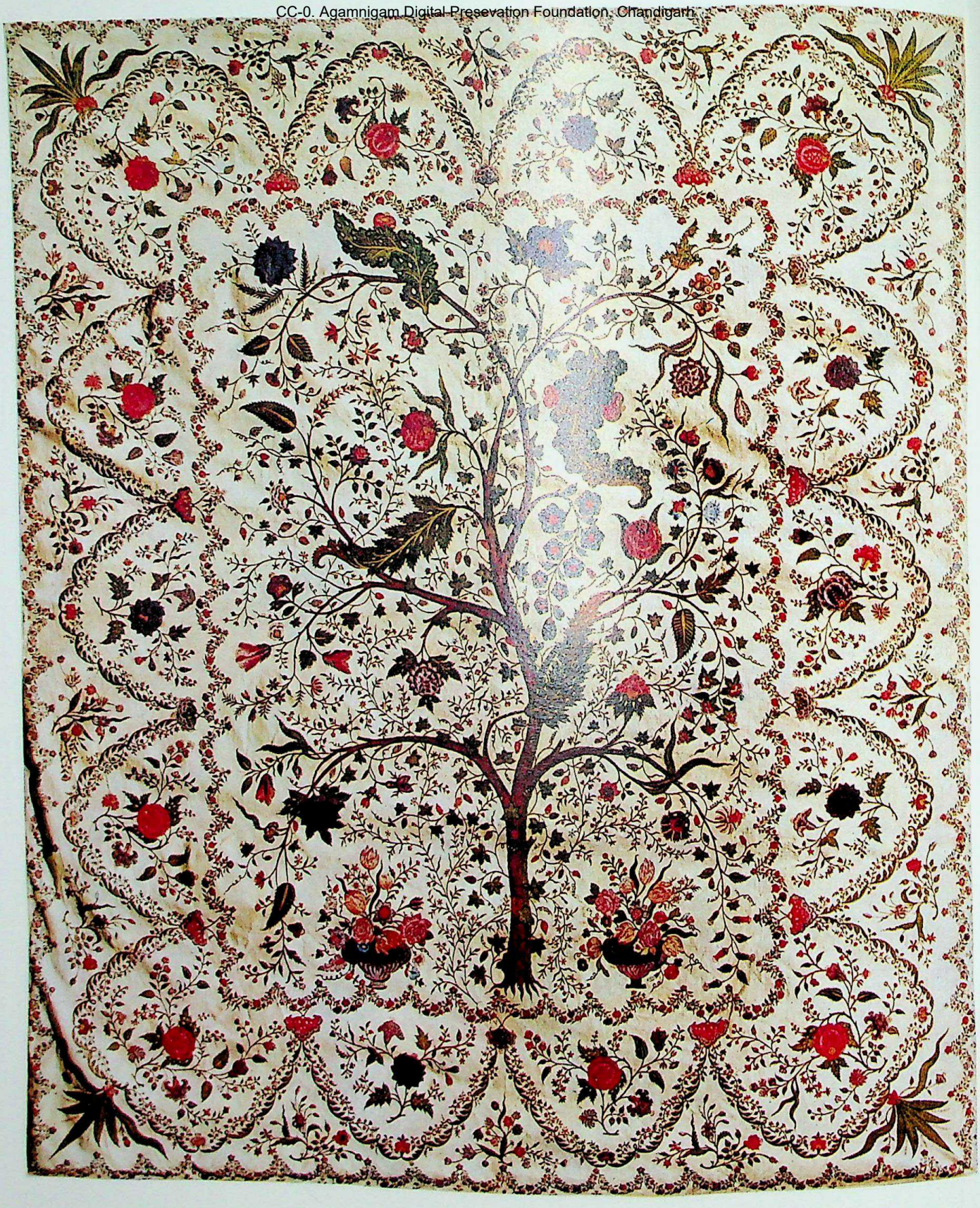

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Havart was overstating his case. In practice, as we shall see, the Hindu craftsman seldom copied *exactly*. Instead he copied foreign musters 'after his own manner' (a phrase recurring in English East India Company records), imposing upon the borrowed subject-matter his own decorative style and idiom, and it was precisely this indigenous contribution which gave individuality and distinction to the designs and supplied what to the European was their exotic appeal.

The traditional function of the Indian cotton-painter was to decorate cloths used as wearing apparel, and left to himself it is doubtful if he would ever have thought of producing fabrics for domestic furnishing. Wall-hangings, carpets and bedspreads are not features of the traditional Hindu domestic interior, which was usually plain or very sparsely ornamented. (The Hindu temple-hanging is in a different category because its real function was to serve as a substitute for wall-painting, and its subject-matter was didactic or story-telling.) Before the Europeans, the demand for furnishing fabrics came mainly from Muslims.[6] This meant, on the one hand, the Persian market, and on the other, the Persianised courts of the various independent Islamic kingdoms which had sprung up in Western India and the Deccan after the collapse of the Delhi sultanate in AD 1398. The most important of these were Gujarat, Khandesh, Golconda, Bidar and Bijapur, and it was within the first three that some of the most important centres of cotton-painting were located. It follows, therefore, that any attempt to trace the origins of the Indo-European flowering-tree motif must begin with an enquiry into both Persian and Indo-Persian sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is precisely where some of the most significant clues are to be found.

At fig.6, for instance, we reproduce in outline a typical chintz flowering tree of the early eighteenth century, and beside it (fig.5) the outline of a tree copied from a mid-fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* or Persian 'Book of Kings'.[7] Although two hundred and fifty years separate these sources, there is clearly a link between them – as shown, for instance, in the sinuous curve of the trunk, the crossing of the lower branch, the spreading of the upper branches, and the convention of depicting sawn-off boughs. Unfortunately, so few cotton-paintings of the intervening period now survive that it is not at present possible to establish the stages by

Fig. 4. Flowering tree from *Shah-nāma MS.* Timurid period, mid-15th century. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 20.120.241*

which the motif was assimilated. However, there are two additional facts of especial significance. One is that the particular manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* from which fig.5 is taken includes on another page a tree with flower-heads of mixed species (fig.4), which is clearly a forerunner of the Indian chintz tree.[8] The second significant fact is that in recent times, experts in Persian and Indo-Persian painting have begun to question whether, after all, this famous edition of the *Shāhnāma* might not be Indian rather than Persian and have originated in one of the Deccani or Western Indian Islamic kingdoms just mentioned.

A source ultimately Persian must be sought for two other features: (1) the highly conventionalised rockery or hillock (sometimes depicted scale-like as at plate 15, and sometimes with rocks resembling coloured sponges as at plate 9), and (2) the weird convention of depicting the tree with exposed roots (plates 6, 9 and 15) so that it sometimes seems to be magically poised above the mound rather than growing organically from it. The first is a somewhat simplified version of rock-conventions recurring in innumerable Persian miniatures. The second is an outcome of the Indian copyist's naive misunderstanding of those rocky landscapes in Persian painting where one finds trees with their roots *partly* exposed on the inhospitable rocky surface. The Indian copyist, unfamiliar with such terrain and its vegetation, has misunderstood what he was copying to the extent of depicting the root-system as *completely* exposed. Some manuscript painters of the early Mughal school, who were themselves consciously founding their style on Persian conventions, had moved half-way towards this misunderstanding in the sixteenth century, as we can see from many of the trees depicted in the famous *Hamza nāma*,[9] and it is a small progression from this stage of misunderstanding to the final stage in the flowering-tree palampores.

We refer to such conventions as Persian because they reached India through the medium of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Persian art. It must not be forgotten,

[6] For evidence that painted-cotton hangings were being made in India for Muslim patrons in the fourteenth century, see Simon Digby, 'The literary evidence for painting in the Delhi Sultanate', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Banaras*, vol.I, no.1, 1968, pp.54–5.

[7] Georges Marteau and Henri Vever, *Miniatures Persanes*, Paris, 1913, vol.I, plate VI, and B.W.Robinson, *Persian miniature painting from collections in the British Isles*, London, 1967, no.107. The original manuscript has been split up. The painting with the tree in question is in the British Museum (1948-12-11-04); but other illustrations are divided between the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[8] This particular miniature is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See M.S.Dimand, 'Notes on the Persian miniatures of the Timurid period in the Metropolitan Museum', *Eastern Art*, Philadelphia, vol.1, no.1, 1928, pp.23–31.

[9] See especially those reproduced by Heinrich Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes*, Zurich/Vienna/Leipzig, 1925, p.49 (fig.21), 93 (fig.37), and plate 44. It seems hardly necessary to add that all the Persian conventions mentioned in this context were inspired by Chinese art in the first place, this influence having reached Persia during the long period of Mongol rule which began in the thirteenth century.

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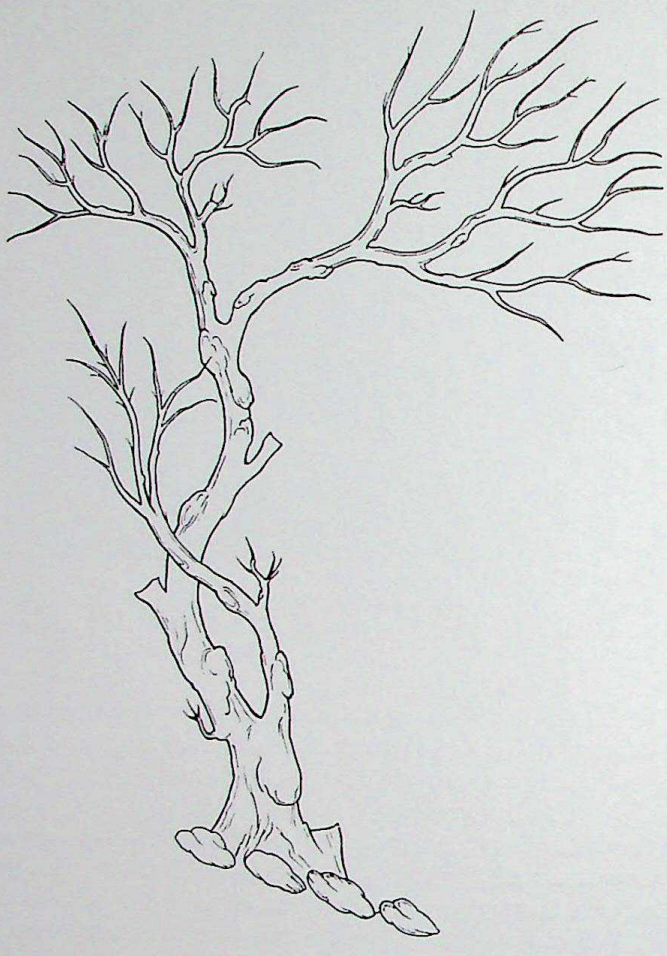

Fig. 5. Outline of tree from *Shah-nāma MS.* Timurid period, mid-15th century. *British Museum, acc. no. 1948-12-11-04*

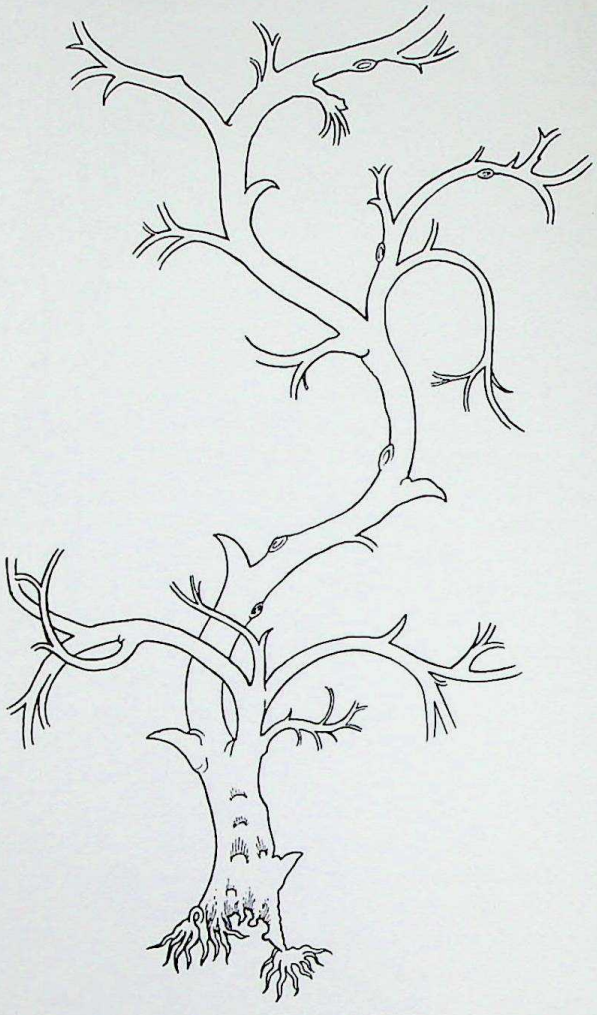

Fig. 6. Outline of tree from palampore at plate 9

however, that from as early as the thirteenth century Persian art itself was influenced by China. These Chinese influences, first reaching Western Asia in the wake of the Mongol invasion, continued to fertilise the visual arts of the Islamic world throughout the period with which we are concerned. There is no aspect of Persian art in which this ultimate debt to China is more evident than in the treatment of rocks and rocky landscapes, although by the sixteenth century the Persian artist had so completely assimilated these borrowings as to have made them an integral part of his own style.

In the evolution of the Indo-European flowering tree, the debt to Persia was primal; but by the third quarter of the seventeenth century European influence had begun to interpose. Since 1643 the English East India Company had been trying to secure modifications to the colours and patterns of the cotton-paintings commissioned for the Western market. (Instructions from London included at least one specific request for the 'branch' to be placed in 'the middle' of the design, implying a preference for a symmetrical arrangement with one central 'branch'.)[10] By 1662 they were sending out sample-patterns for the cotton-painters to copy. In 1669 they wrote: 'Now of late, they are here in England, come to a great practize of printing large branches for Hangings of Romes, And we doe believe, y^{t} some of our Callicoes painted after that manner might vent well, and therefore have sent you some patternes of which we would have you send us 2,000 pieces.'[11]

To what extent were these patterns of 'large branches' inspired by earlier imports of cotton-paintings (some of which may have reached London via Holland and the Dutch settlements in India inaccessible to English merchants), and to what extent were they specimens of a truly English or European decorative tradition? This cannot at present be answered with finality, and all one can say is that nothing now survives in the way of *printed* European fabrics answering to this description. On the other hand, 'branched' decoration of one kind or another had long been an established feature of English art and cannot be ignored in this context. In Elizabeth I's reign there had been a curious convention of making artificial trees and using them as part of the interior decoration of large houses. In 1585, for instance, the Queen herself was said to have occupied a chamber at Theobalds (the famous country house of Lord Burghley) decorated with 'a shew of old oaks and such trees with painted leaves and fruit'.[12] The same mansion, which was demolished under Cromwell in the next century, was described as having its main hall decorated in a similar way: 'On each side of the hall are six trees having

[10] 'Those which hereafter you shall send we desire may be with more white ground, and the flowers and branch to be in colours in the middle of the quilt as the painter pleases ...' Factory Records Miscellaneous, India Office Records, vol.12, f.99.

[11] Letter dated 16th February, 1669. Letter Book IV, India Office Records, f.326.

[12] From a letter written by Lord Burghley on 14th August, 1585, and quoted by W.B.Rye, *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James I*, London, 1865, p.213.

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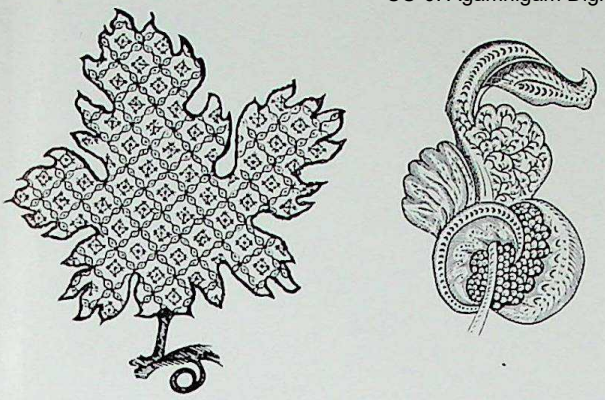

Fig. 7a. Leaf from an embroidered ('black-work') cover. English, late 16th century. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T79-1924*
Fig. 7b. Leaf of European origin, with Indian naturalistic plant infilling. From palampore at plate 5

the natural bark so artificially joined with birds' nests and leaves as well as fruit upon them, all managed in such a manner that you could not distinguish between the natural and these artificial trees...'[13] Nothing survives of these artificial constructions, yet English embroidery styles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century reflect a similar climate of decorative taste. In particular, one thinks of the large leaf-forms, naturalistic in outline yet often filled with abstract patterns or hatchings (fig.7a), which undoubtedly left their mark on Indian chintz. (The main difference is that whereas the English fillings were usually abstract, the Indian cotton-painter preferred to use smaller naturalistic plant-motifs as infillings and was reluctant to combine naturalism with non-organic ornament – see fig.7b.) Another link of particular significance are Flemish verdure tapestries (fig.8), their curled and scroll-like leaves of Gothic origin being a possible source of some of the curled leaf-forms in later Indian chintz.[14] Large numbers of verdure tapestries were imported into England during the seventeenth century and they had a deep and lasting influence on contemporary Western design.

Chinoiserie, which may be defined as the foreigner's exercise in the Chinese style or manner, was fashionable in England by the second decade of the seventeenth century. This had come into being because of the exorbitant cost of authentic Chinese and Japanese articles (the furnishings of a 'cabinet of China-worke' given as a wedding present to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, in 1613, were valued at £10,000).[15] English artists may have given a lead to the Continent. In 1616 an Englishman was employed in Rome 'for the Cardinelles and other Princes in workes after the China fashion, which is much affected here'.[16] In London its popularity is indicated not only by references to imitation 'China-worke' in contemporary inventories,[17] but by the survival of many actual examples, including the well-known Saddlers' Ballot Box dated 1619, a set of painted trenchers, and several pieces of imitation lacquer-ware furniture.[18] In contemporary textiles it features prominently in the design of the Bradford table-carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum (T. 134–1928). More commonly, however, it is substituted in textile design by a kind of hybrid orientalism exemplified by the two cushion-covers at figs.9 and 10. The Hulton cushion-cover at fig.9 is especially relevant in this context, because it includes a scaled hillock, trees with partly exposed roots, and branches with mixed flowers. At this period, the so-called 'China-worke' of the West derived much of its inspiration from Turkey, perhaps for no better reason than the fact that Turkey happened to be the most accessible part of the orient, and also because Turkey itself had assimilated many influences from Chinese art as part of the consequences of the Mongol invasion, already mentioned. In the case of the Hulton cushion-cover at fig.9, the flower-treatment is strongly indebted to Turkish decorative art, which is in turn influenced by the treatment of flowers on Chinese ceramics. Another classic instance of this Turkish-Chinese influence in West European decorative art is the floral section in the famous books of drawings by Thomas Trevelyon, dated 1608, and now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington (see Bibliography under Nevinson). All this points to the existence of a well-established taste for orientalism in Western decorative art long before cotton-paintings reached Europe in bulk.

The contemporary 'practice of printing large branches for hangings', mentioned in the letter of 1669, might conceivably have had some reference to block-printed wallpaper, which was coming into use in the second half of the century (fig.11), but little of which now survives.[19] Printed fabrics of the period are also rare, and those which do survive are mostly copies or near-copies of contemporary small-patterned velvets, damasks, and brocades, which scarcely fit the description of 'large branches'.[20] The patterns chosen for copying were usually the small ones, since these lent themselves best to the technique of block-printing. In the seventeenth century there was a distinct divergence between silk designs for costume, which were small, and those for furnishings, which often had repeats of three feet or more.[21] To have copied the latter by wood-block technique would have been a *tour de force* worthy of comment, and in the absence of surviving examples there is no proof one way or the other that this was done. The only surviving fabrics with large branched designs at present thought to date from the third quarter of the seventeenth century are the Hatton Garden embroidered wall-hangings now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig.12). These, however, are unique and throw no immediate light on this problem. After this there is a gap in the English evidence until we come to the large group of crewel-embroidered hangings which, as far as we know, first appeared about the last decade of the century. The

[13] From the description by Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, written in 1592 (W.B.Rye, *ibid.*, p.213).
[14] See also H.Goebel, *Wandteppiche*, 1 Teil, Band II, nos.441, 470, 471 and 476.
[15] A list of the items presented to her by the States General and presumably brought by Dutch ships, is given in *Stow's Chronicle* (1631 edition), p.909.
[16] M.F.S.Hervey, *Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921, p.501.
[17] See in particular the inventory of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, dated 1614, *Archaeologia*, XLII, pt.2, 1869, pp.232–3.
[18] See *Burlington Magazine*, vol. XXI, 1917, pp.234–40; and LXVIII, 1936, pp.232–3.
[19] It is a well-established fact that seventeenth-century wallpaper patterns were often copied from textiles (see E.A.Entwistle, *The book of wallpaper*, London, 1954, plates 4 and 5; and A.V.Sugden and J.L.Edmondson, *A history of English wallpaper, 1509–1914*, London, 1926, figs.12 and 16).
[20] Ingegerd Henschen, *Tygtryck i Sverige*, Part I (Fore 1700), Stockholm, 1942, plates 63 and 64, 66 and 67.
[21] Peter Thornton, *Baroque and rococo silks*, London, 1965, plates 103 A and B.

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Fig. 8. Verdure tapestry: Netherlands, 2nd half of 16th century. *Schlossmuseum, Berlin*

distinctive characteristic of this group is a repeat of vertical branches rather than a design based on a single tree. The closest surviving Indian parallels to these are the Ashburnham-type hangings (plate 5, figs.17 and 27). In answer to the crucial question as to whether Europe or India provided the original prototype, the balance of evidence points to Europe, partly because of the predominance of Western flora and fauna in the designs, and partly because of the essentially European character of the chinoiserie, which includes shepherds with crooks. It is significant, however, that the upper parts of the branches appearing in the Indian versions are not exact repeats of the lower sections but are drawn to give the effect of terminating organically. The total evidence leaves us with the impression that this very hybrid style, although initiated in the West, was really the outcome of reciprocal, rather than one-way, influence.[22]

It is difficult to say when the Indo-Persian type of flowering tree, as distinct from the branched design characteristic of crewelwork, first appeared in Europeanised form with acanthus leaves and other Western flora. When Dutch East India Company records are investigated from this angle, it may be found that the Dutch did more than the English to establish its popularity in the first place. The earliest evidence of surviving fabrics tells us only that a composite tree-and-branch design was an established feature of Indian chintz by the last quarter of the seventeenth century (plate 5). It is obvious, however, that there must have been antecedents about which we now have no record. The conspicuous elements of chinoiserie are in this case again reminiscent of European chinoiserie no less than of the Chinese influences in Persian art, but these diverse elements are so completely welded into a unified design by the Indian eye and imagination that it is difficult to disentangle them.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century most of the flowering trees are displaying exuberant Baroque curves. The flowers closest to Western decorative art accord with contemporary Dutch taste for lavish floral display. Tulips, carnations, roses, anemones, chinoiserie peonies, chrysanthemums, and various more fanciful kinds of Baroque and oriental origin are mixed in profuse array. The Indian cotton-painter had completely mastered his theme, and his drawing is vigorous and assured. The flowering-tree palampores and hangings of the period are among the most successful in design and execution (plates 8 and 9).

By the second quarter, changes and modifications had been introduced to conform with new trends in Western taste – for instance, for lighter and airier arrangements and more naturalistic treatment and disposition of flowers and foliage. The tree itself was no longer so markedly serpentine, but spread in gentle curves from a sharply tapering trunk. Flowers were fewer in kind and number, and foliage more sparse. Sprays of small flowers, now an integral part of the design, were often the means of holding the design together. The results were not always successful, but among the most pleasant was a variant appearing in the 1730s which combined the easy naturalism of the loosely-drawn silk designs of Jean Revel with new elements of European chinoiserie (plates 23 and 24).[23] The trees now have angular notched branches, inspired by the peach and prunus trees in Chinese embroidery and wall-paper, in contrast with the flowers and foliage which are in Revel's style. A new introduction is the sinuous bamboo branch with tufts of spiky foliage taken from Chinese wallpaper (plate 25). Another feature taken direct from a Chinese source – in this case embroidery – is the lily plant (cf.

[22] The fact that the style appealed to tastes outside England is indicated by the existence of the group of hangings related to the Ashburnham group (one in reverse and one a tenuous variant), from the Schlosshof in Vienna (now in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna) and believed to have been installed by Prince Eugene (d.1736).

[23] Peter Thornton, *Baroque and rococo silks*, London, 1965, plates 68A and 69A.

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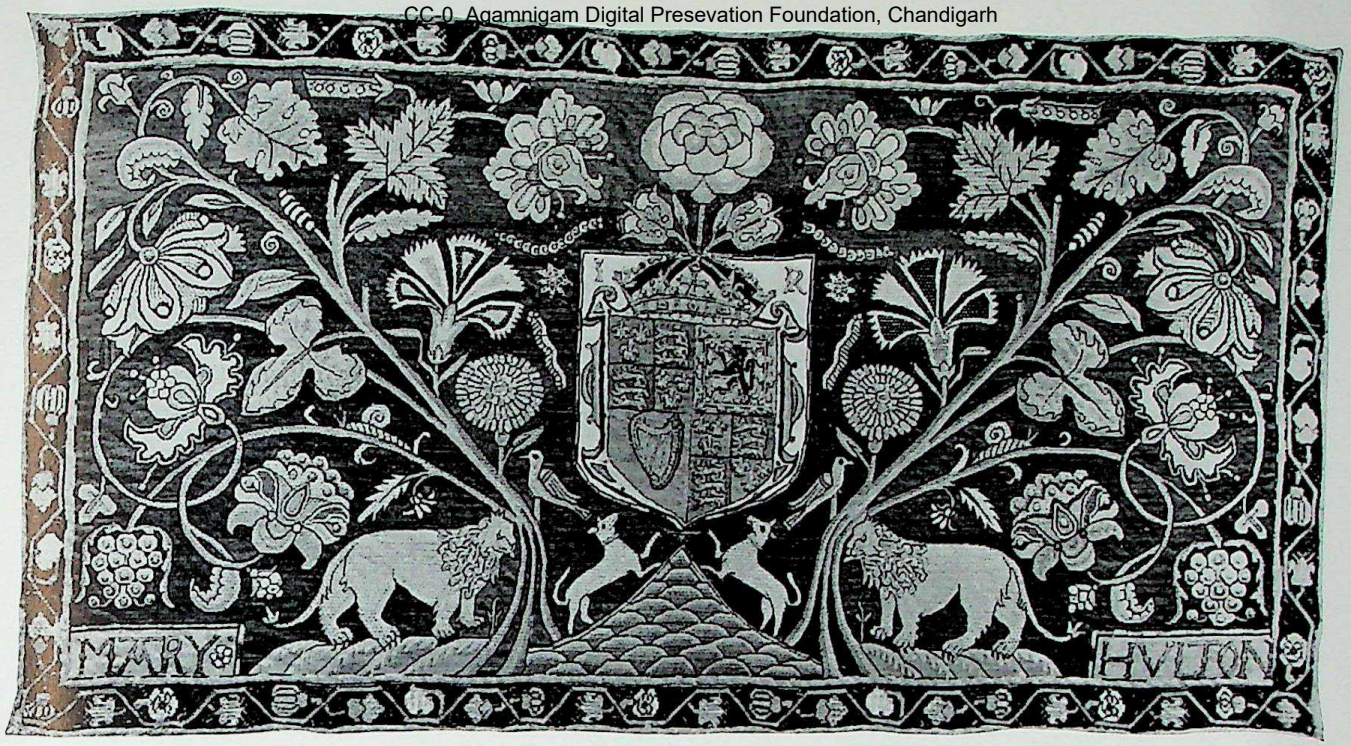

Fig. 9. Embroidered cover. English, early 17th century. 97·8cm × 52·1cm. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 816-1893*

plate 23 and fig.34). Butterflies and insects, which had hitherto appeared only in the Ashburnham chintzes, now recur as a common feature.

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the Persian-inspired type of flowering tree remained a favourite only in Holland. In France and England it was superseded by a more sinuous type of chinoiserie tree which had developed from the bamboo branch mentioned above, now often depicted with a similar bamboo growing beside it. Unlike its predecessor, this chinoiserie tree is in complete harmony with other contemporary Western arts. It is a *Western* chinoiserie creation with little or no Indianising. The extravagant fantasy of the earlier designs is now subdued. The flowers (chinoiserie peonies, roses and chrysanthemums) are smaller, and the foliage negligible, having been largely replaced by sprays of diminutive flowers, fruit and leaves in keeping with the scale of other decoration in its setting. Rarely does one come across the delicate fill-in patterns characteristic of earlier chintz, and even the colours (mostly reds and violets) seem muted in comparison. This style, with many variants, remained in fashion throughout the second half of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. As late as 1800, debased versions with harsh colours were still being made (plate 42).

A final stage in the history of the flowering-tree is represented by a number of palampores specially commissioned for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, several examples of which are preserved in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and one of which is included in this catalogue (plate 53). The designs at this stage have lost all freedom and spontaneity, and the tree itself has the character of an unimaginative and frozen formula.

Summing up the origin and development of the flowering-tree design of Indo-European chintz, we can say that the initial inspiration came from Persian painting before the Europeans reached India, and at a time when Indian

Fig. 10. Embroidered panel. English, late 16th century. *Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire*

cotton-painters were producing fine furnishing fabrics mainly for Islamic patrons. When the Europeans began to show a serious interest in the chintz trade in the third quarter of the seventeenth century they supplied their own patterns of 'branched hangings' corresponding with contemporary taste in Europe. The earliest known flowering-tree chintzes made for the European market show an intermixture of Persian, European, Indian, Chinese and 'chinoiserie' elements. Surviving English crewelwork hangings of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, which have their parallel in the Ashburnham chintzes painted in Western India in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, represent a variant design which probably owed more to contemporary Europe than to any other source, though there are too many missing links in the evidence to make it possible to tell the story in detail. The flowering-tree designs reached their most assured form by the first decade of the eighteenth century. In the 1730s a new variant appeared, closely related on the one hand to contemporary French silks, and on the other to Chinese embroideries and wallpapers. From this developed the sinuous tree of the second half of the eighteenth century, which survived in a debased form well into the nineteenth.

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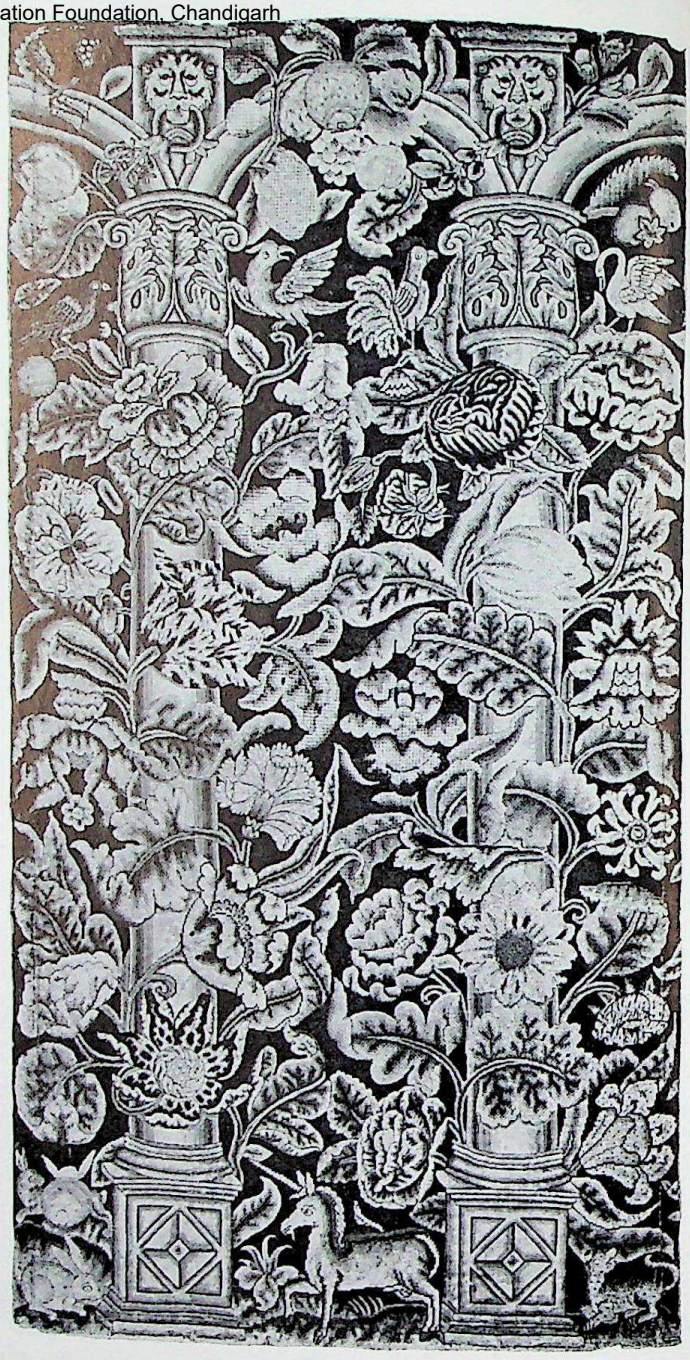

Fig. 12. Embroidered hanging. English, 3rd quarter of 17th century. 228·5cm × 116·9cm. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 521-1896*

Fig. 11. Wallpaper: block printed. English, about 1700. 195·7cm × 61cm. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. E5311-1958*

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Chapter 6

Furnishing fabrics

The role of chintz in furnishing and its impact on European taste and fashion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must be seen as part of the wider revolution in living habits which accompanied the growth and spread of middle-class prosperity. In England, this revolution began in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. People who could afford comfort in their daily living conditions no longer tolerated the open chimneyless fire of their predecessors, the smoke from which hung around the house and escaped tardily out of shuttered windows or vents in the roof, leaving an internal deposit of soot and smut inimical to textile fabric of any kind. The chimneyed fireplace came into general use slowly, but by 1560 (the precise date varying from region to region) it was a normal feature of new buildings, and the traditional type of hall-house, until recently surviving everywhere, was now being modernised by the insertion of first-floor chambers, chimneys, and glass-paned windows. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the family bedstead was still – as it had been for centuries – the most prized item of household furniture, but it was no longer the only one to be decorated with a patterned fabric. Henceforth cushions were a more common feature of the parlour, and coverlets – or carpets, as they were sometimes called – on stools, chairs and tables. As time went on wall-hangings were to become a familiar sight even in urban middle-class households.

These changes created a rapidly growing demand for decorative fabrics which home industry had not previously been required to meet. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when the brightly-coloured, exotic fabrics of India first began to be seen in Europe, they were highly coveted. The earliest positive evidence of Indian cotton-paintings used as furnishing fabrics comes from France in the 1570s and 1580s. They are listed in the probate inventories of wealthy Marseilles citizens under such names as *toilles de Levant, vannes d'indiannes*, and *endianes*.[1] The association of the name Levant and the fact that Marseilles was the main French port of the Levant trade leaves little doubt that these particular fabrics had been brought to Europe by the overland route. But Indian cotton-paintings were certainly reaching Lisbon and Antwerp simultaneously through Indo-Portuguese maritime trade, although the actual proportion of 'calicoes' in the cargo of Portuguese ships at this period seems to have been very small and to have consisted mostly of the cheaper sorts. England acquired early experience of such goods mainly as booty from captured ships (in particular, from the *Madre de Dios* in 1592[2]) but the experience was sufficient to alert the English East India Company to the possibilities of this branch of trade from the time of the Company's foundation in 1600.

'Pintadoes of all sorts, especially the finest, as seemeth to me, should yield good profit, I mean such as are for quilts and for fine hangings ...' wrote the Company agent from Surat in 1609.[3] By 1613 'Pintathoe Carpetts' were appearing in the London sales[4] and in the following year Nicholas Offlet, in a detailed report on commodities available in various cities of India with which the Company had trading contacts, included 'all manner of Pintathoes ... [and] palamposh'.[5]

From 1640, when the Companies began commissioning special designs to the European taste, the supply gradually assumed the proportions of an important branch of the East India trade. After 1680, the demand for all kinds of chintz in Europe expanded explosively, and henceforth furnishing fabrics were usually ordered to size, as well as to pattern. The prohibition laws applying in France between 1686 and 1759, and in England from 1700 until well into the 19th century[5a] were of course a setback to sales in Europe; but furnishings continued to find their way with other chintz fabrics into France and England, mostly by smuggling; and in other parts of Europe, particularly the Netherlands, where import was still legal, the sales increased. Moreover, even after prohibition, the English and French companies continued open shipments to London, ostensibly for re-export (which was legal), and this explains why some pieces surviving in Dutch collections today bear stamp-marks of the (English) United East India Company.

The hangings exported from India in the seventeenth century seem most often to have arrived in lengths to be cut up by the purchaser according to the dimensions of the walls to be covered, rather than as sets of panels. This is supported both by the examples which have survived and

[1] Arch. depart. des Bouches-du-Rhone, II B 789, ff.545–57 and 599. Quoted by H. Chobaut, 'L'industrie des Indiennes à Marseilles avant 1680', *Mémoires de l'Institut historique de Provence*, tome XVI, 1939, p.83.

[2] British Museum. Lansdowne MS. 70, f.208.

[3] Letters Received by the East India Company. India Office Records, vol.1, f.29, Surat, August 30th, 1609.

[4] Court Minutes. India Office Records, vol.III, f.18. 'A General Court helde the 22th of December 1613.'

[5] Factory Records Misc., India Office Records, vol.25, ff.568. The word 'Palamposh', which later entered the English language as 'palampore', derives from Persian and Hindi *palangposh*, 'bed-cover'.

[5a] The Calico Act of 1774 (14 Geo. III, c. 72) was designed to relieve the British calico industry of the excessive duties hitherto levied on goods of pure cotton manufacture. It removed the almost total prohibition on printed fabrics, but only those made in Britain. Import restrictions on printed and painted cottons from overseas remained unaltered.

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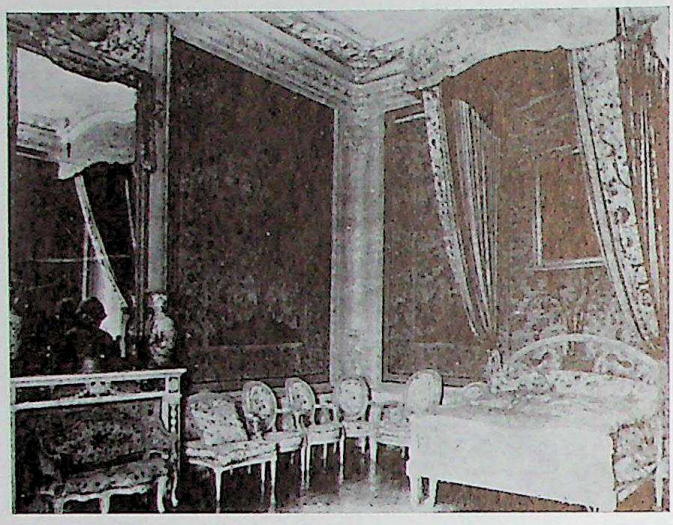

Fig. 13. Chintz bedroom at Chateau Borèly, Marseilles. Reproduced from G. P. Baker's book, published 1921.

also by the contemporary phrase 'Chintes for hangings'. In a letter of 1619 the Surat agents ordered from Burhanpur 'Chintes for hangings in England ... 100 pieces of the strongest sorts with different workes, viz, a corge [ie. a score] of each sort answerable in cullers, which will sufficiently serve for a suite or hanging of one room.'[6] The Company's London auction in 1626 included 100 pieces of 'Pintado Hanging' which fetched 7s. 1d. each, and 110 pieces measuring 13 yards in length which sold at 6s. 11d. against a cost price to the Company of 7s. 6d.[7] The fact that the latter were 13 yards in length clearly indicates that they were meant to be cut up. We are also reminded in this context of Samuel Pepys' diary entry of September 5th, 1663, in which he recorded having bought his wife 'a chinte ... that is paynted Indian callico for to line her new study which is very pretty.'[8] This, too, was presumably a single length to be cut as the walls required.

Among surviving hangings, there are three different types which were made in a form suitable for cutting up:

1. Designs depicting human figures in alcoves (plate 2, and figs.2 and 3), belonging to the Early Coromandel Group (see Chapter 2). It was perhaps this type that John Evelyn was describing at Lady Mordaunt's house in 1665 ('... a room hung with Pintado full of figures great and small, prettily representing Sundry Trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits &c: very extraordinarie')[9]. They were made of lengths of cotton joined together before painting and usually have a horizontal seam running the full width of the cloth.

2. Designs with repeating vertical flowering branches. This type seems to have been derived from the traditional type of Indian tent-hanging (*kanat*), the design of which usually consisted of a row of panels filled with repeating vases of flowers (see fig.22). These recall Bernier's description of the Emperor Aurangzeb's camp '... encompassed with *kanates*, or screens, seven or eight feet in height, secured by cords attached to pegs, and by poles fixed two by two in the ground, at every ten paces, one pole within and the other without, and each leaning upon the other. The *kanates* are made of strong cloth, lined with printed Indian calico, representing large vases of flowers.'[10] It is possible that some hangings of this kind reached Europe, since they were no doubt more easily procured than any other type, yet none has so far come to light in country-house collections. They are normally composed of short lengths of cotton joined vertically as selvage-to-selvage widths, the seams not corresponding with the width of the repeat and sometimes found to be running through the centre of the design. The Ashburnham hangings (plate 5) seem to owe something to the Indian *kanat* convention, both because of their lateral repeat and the fact that the seams run through the centre of the pattern as described. A further development of this type is represented by the set in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, which has a tall serpentine flowering tree (fig.23). The Viennese hangings are based on a design identical with no.10 (plate 8), which suggests that this piece was also part of a similar set.

3. Overall designs with rows of continuous floral scrolls probably sold in lengths as piece-goods. These are represented by the chintz on the interior walls of a doll's house dated 1676 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig.24), the motifs in this case being reminiscent of the large flower-heads and spiralling stems in Stuart embroidery.

There are occasional references in East India Company records to 'setts of Pintado Hangings' and also to 'a suite of Hangings', but nowhere today does a complete seventeenth-century set survive. The earliest floral hanging in the catalogue has narrow floral borders on three sides and may have comprised part of a set (plate 6). But the earliest we can say definitely formed a set is the group based on designs by the French *ornemaniste* Jean Berain (1638–1711), reproduced at plates 66 and 67.[11] This style, seemingly so uncongenial for chintz painting, must have enjoyed some degree of popularity in the first half of the eighteenth century, because a number survive in museum collections. Another eighteenth-century type, depicting figure groups reminiscent of European pictorial tapestries (plates 71 and 72) may also at one time have formed parts of sets.

An interesting survival of chintz being used as wall-coverings is provided by a bedroom at the Chateau Borèly, Marseilles, now serving as an archaeological museum (fig.13). In this particular case the chintzes used as wall-coverings are flowering-tree bedspreads, related in style but not actually a matching set. They are known to have been installed between 1775 and 1780, and the method of hanging is the one usual at that time, each piece being

[6] British Museum, Egerton MS. 2122, f.106.

[7] Court Book IX, India Office Records, f.24.

[8] Pepys, in his original longhand entry, did not write the word 'chinte' very clearly. John Smith, who first transcribed the Diary between 1819–22 and was scrupulously painstaking in his work, read the word as 'chinke'. Mr D. Pepys Whitely, Deputy Pepys Librarian, has kindly checked the original entry and tells us that it could read either way.

[9] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E.S.de Beer, 1955, vol.III, Dec. 30, 1665.

[10] F.Bernier, *Travels*, London, 1891, p.360. Screens of the type described are often depicted in Persian and Mughal miniatures. In 1616, Sir Thomas Roe described the travelling tents of the Mughal court as being 'compassed in with Pales and Pintadoes', *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1899, vol.II, p.275. For evidence of painted-cotton tent hangings being made in India as early as the fourteenth century, see Simon Digby, 'The literary evidence for painting in the Delhi Sultanate', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Banaras*, vol.I, no.1, 1968, pp.54–5.

[11] See K.B.Brett, 'A French Source of Chintz Design', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.II. Ahmedabad, 1956, for detailed discussion of this group.

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held in place by strips of beading attached to the panelled wall. One palampore in this catalogue (plate 44) is numbered and ringed in a way to suggest that it once served as part of a set of wall-hangings.

The Chateau Borèly also has two rooms hung with chintz yardage, the design consisting of repeats of small sprigs and treelets. These, like the palampores in the bedroom, are set into panelled walls and secured with beading.

An English inventory of 1641 shows that from at least as early as this date chintzes were being used to decorate whole rooms: 'a suite of hangings Consisting of Foure pieces of Indian Pantadoes & Curtaynes of the same suite for the same Roome, And a Canopy of the same suite with a valence thereunto. Pantadoe Carpetts for the same Roome.'[12] Here there are five matching items: hangings, curtains, carpets, canopy and valance. The bedroom in the Amsterdam doll's house (fig.24) is the only surviving example of a seventeenth-century room entirely furnished with chintz – in this instance, hangings, bed-curtains and bedspread. The few eighteenth-century examples which survive are all now incomplete. The earliest, which is believed to have been installed in the Vienna Schlosshof by Prince Eugene between 1725–36, is a set of long, narrow, bordered panels (fig.19) with matching bedspread (fig.23) – the latter made up from what may originally have been one wide and two narrow bedcurtains – and matching valances. These bear some relation to fragments of a later set catalogued here as no.31 (plates 27–9). The hanging at plate 58 is matched by a chintz chair-seat cover in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig.39), which suggests that this design was also once used for a suite. The long narrow type of hanging shown at plate 58 raises the question of its precise function, which cannot be answered with certainty. It could have been used as a bed or window curtain. Henry Purefoy, in a letter dated 20th August, 1738, wrote: '... I shall want 19 yards of full yard wide Chintz for the window curtains ...'[13] The Vienna panels roughly correspond; the fragments comprise

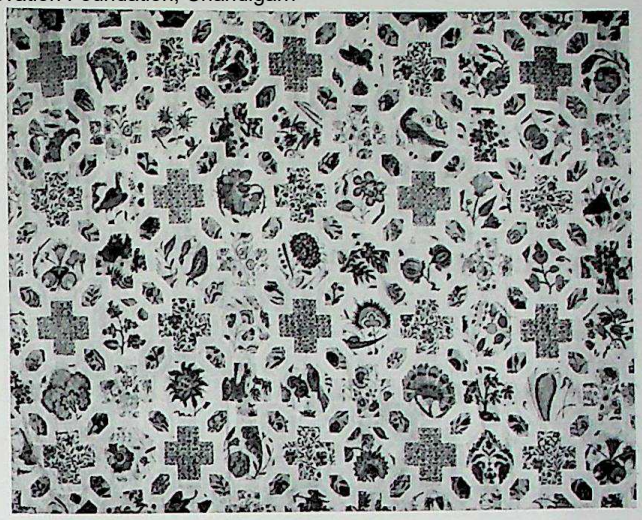

Fig. 14. Detail of coverlet: applied-work using fragments of old Indian chintz. Believed to have been put together in the first decade of the 18th century. *Levens Hall, Cumberland*

catalogue no.31, 3ft 8in, and the panel at Plate 58, 4ft. All are suitable widths for curtains.

As late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, rooms entirely furnished with chintz were highly esteemed. In *The Clandestine Marriage* written by David Garrick and George Coleman in 1776, the elderly Lord Ogleby, guest of honour in the house of the heroine's wealthy social climbing father, is put in the chintz bedroom.[14] Fig.13, showing the chintz bedroom of 1775–80 in the Chateau Borèly with bed and chintz-covered furniture in place,[15] gives us some idea of how elegant eighteenth-century chintz bedrooms could be.

Bed-hangings are first mentioned in East India Company sales in 1626,[16] but until the last quarter of the century specific references are rare. This does not mean that chintzes were neglected for bed furnishing but simply that in the early stages they were not often imported ready-made for this purpose. That they were used as such is clear from contemporary inventories and correspondence. For instance, an American inventory of 1656 includes '5 painted Callico Curtains and Valients';[17] and two years later there is a reference in English memoirs to a 'fringe for the Pentado bed'.[18]

The boom in ready-made, imported bed-hangings begins in 1683 with an order sent to India for '100 Suits of painted Curtaines and Vallances, made ready up of Several Sorts and Prices. The Vallances to be 1 foot deep and 6½ yards compass. Curtains to be from 8 to 9 foot deep, the two lesser Curtains each 1½ yds wide, the two larger Curtains to be 3½ yds wide. The Tester and headpiece proporceonable. A Counterpane of the same work to be 3½ yds wide and 4 yds long half of them to be quilted and the other half not quilted.'[19] It is clear from these measurements that the beds for which they were intended were large even by contemporary standards (if we judge by the dimensions of English crewelwork curtains, for instance). Beds of the sizes quoted would only have been used in mansions of the gentry where high-ceilinged bedrooms were especially esteemed.[20]

Among the few early survivals of chintz bed furniture is the bedspread and matching series of valances in Vienna, already mentioned. The design of the bedspread (made

[12] 'A Memorial of all the rooms at Tart Hall and an Inventory of the Household Stuffs and Goods there belonging to the Rt. Hon. the Countess of Arundel', dated 8th September, 1641, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol.20, 1911–12, p.235.

[13] *Purefoy Letters*, 1735–53, edited by G. Eland, London, 1931, vol.1, p.106.

[14] *The British Theatre, Biographical notes, Critical Remarks by Mrs Inchbald*, London, 1808, vol.16, *The Clandestine Marriage*, p.21.

[15] Chateau Borèly is now an archaeological Museum and the chintz bedroom is no longer arranged as shown in fig.13.

[16] A sale in London included eighty 'bedd hangings', each 5 yds long. The cost price was said to be six shillings each, and they sold at only a halfpenny profit. India Office Archives, Court Book IX, f.24: 'A Court of Sales in London the xiith of July 1626'.

[17] Inventory of the estate of Mrs Hibbins of Massachusetts. Probate Records of Suffolk County, Mass., vol.III, p.73. Suffolk County, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

[18] *Memoirs of the Verney family*, edited by Margaret M. Verney. London, 1894, vol.III, p.409. The piece of chintz from which the fringe was made was bought for 5s. 6d. and considered cheap at that price.

[19] India Office Archives, Letter Book VII, f.208. Letter dated 14th August, 1683, to Our Agent and Councill at Fort St. George.

[20] One remembers in this context Celia Fiennes's description of Newby Hall in 1697 with its '6 or 7 Chambers off a good size and lofty, so that most of the beds were two foote low which was a pitty they being good beds'. *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited by Christopher Morris, 1947, p.85. Crewelwork curtains of this period are not usually more than seven feet long. In this connection, see J. L. Nevinson, *Catalogue of English Domestic Embroidery*, 1950, pp.60–71.

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from curtains) is a flowering tree, and some of the valances have matching treelets. Very few valances, designed as such, are known to survive. An impressive one, Berainesque in style, with a scalloped edge, is shown at fig.21.

The relative scarcity of Indian chintz during the period of prohibition meant that the most thrifty use was made of chintzes surviving from the pre-prohibition period and also reflects its persistent popularity. One way of re-using earlier materials was to cut them up for patchwork or appliqué embroidery. An outstanding example is the fine set of patchwork coverlets at Levens Hall, Westmorland (fig.14). These are claimed, on circumstantial family evidence, to have been put together at the beginning of the eighteenth century from miscellaneous Indian chintzes supposedly imported one or two decades earlier. Patchwork and applied techniques became increasingly fashionable in the eighteenth century. A later example is the handsome set of six pairs of window curtains with applied scrollwork designs (probably French), now in the ballroom of the Governor's house at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia (fig.20). The same techniques were used for *chinoiserie* designs, an example being the applied chintz bed-furnishings and wall-hangings made for the Vienna Schlosshof (fig.15).

The best known of the late eighteenth-century bed-furnishings are those associated with the 'Garrick bed' in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig.16 and plates 32–6). These chintzes were sent from India in 1774 as a gift to the wife of the actor, David Garrick. The pieces in the set are based on a single type of flowering tree, but in some cases the tree has been reversed or slightly modified according to size and shape. They include a 'larger' and a 'lesser' pair of curtains, each with a narrow border, unlike the palampore which has a broad border. Some of the valances have a repeating design of matching treelets, originally cut from a single piece. It is clear from an examination of the bed itself that it has been reduced from a much larger size. The hangings and valances were apparently made for the bed in its original form and have since been somewhat crudely adapted to the new size.

An item of bed furniture absent from East India Company lists is the headboard slip-cover of a bed. A surviving specimen is shown at plate 116b. It is made from yardage, and its bold design is inspired by the kind of silk patterns fashionable in Western Europe in the first two decades of the eighteenth century both for furnishings and costume. Other chintz furniture coverings in the collections show, from internal evidence, that they were originally costumes later converted into upholstery – for instance four panels made to fit the foot – and headboard of a late eighteenth century bed, no.169, plate 147a. Two of the latter are considerably pieced and clearly show their costume origin, in spite of being roughly contemporary with the headboard itself in design. No.126, plate 112, on the other hand, although made to fit the same kind of late eighteenth century headboard, is a much earlier design.

By far the most numerous references in the East India Company records were for quilts and palampores. Of the large chintzes which survive today, these far outnumber hangings and other chintz furnishings. Hangings, curtains and upholstery, fixed as they were to walls and furniture, were more vulnerable to dirt, light and dampness whereas quilts and palampores could be frequently shaken out,

Fig. 15. Hanging: composed of applied pieces of painted and dyed cotton of Indian origin, 18th century. *Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, acc. no. T8425*

aired or replaced and so escaped these hazards. The early seventeenth-century records show that at that stage chintzes were sought mostly in the form of quilts – a term then used in its true sense of a padded coverlet. The Frenchman Pyrard de Laval, who travelled in India between 1602 and 1610, describes them as 'stuffed with cotton, painted and patterned exceedingly prettily'.[21] In 1619 the Surat factors, writing to their agent at Agra, ordered quilts 'all of one kind of chinte, the lyninge and upper parte of one and the same; some of differente chintes, yet such as either side may be used; and some to have borders only of different cullers, about a covide deep, to hange by the bedside on all sides alike, and the inner parte of the quilte also to bee both sides alike. This last is most used in India, and wee thinke will be most pleasinge in England.'[22] Edward Terry, chaplain to the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe at the Mughal court between 1616 and 1619, refers to the local manufacture of '... excellent quilts of stayned cloth, or of fresh coloured Taffeta lined with their *Pintadoes*.'[23] It should be noted that these quotations describe four distinct types of quilt. Only the last type can be recognized in the London and Toronto collections (no.13, plate 11), and it is of eighteenth-century origin.

In the early period quilts were usually exported ready-made but occasionally, when delays threatened, they were dispatched unsewn to be made up in Europe. This explains references to 'pairs of quilts',[24] which must have consisted of two panels with matching designs, subsequently sewn together, stuffed, and quilted. Reference elsewhere to the

[21] F.E.Pyrard de Laval, *Discours du Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1611, translated by A. Gray, Hakluyt Society, London, 3 vols., London, 1887–90, vol. II, pt.I, p.247.
[22] *English Factories in India, 1618–21*, edited by W. Foster, pp.84–5.
[23] Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1655, p.134.
[24] A letter dated 1645 from the Factors at Surat to EIC. reads '6 Bales of Quilts cont. 30 pair...' India Office Records. Original Correspondence O.C. 1905, f.8 recto.

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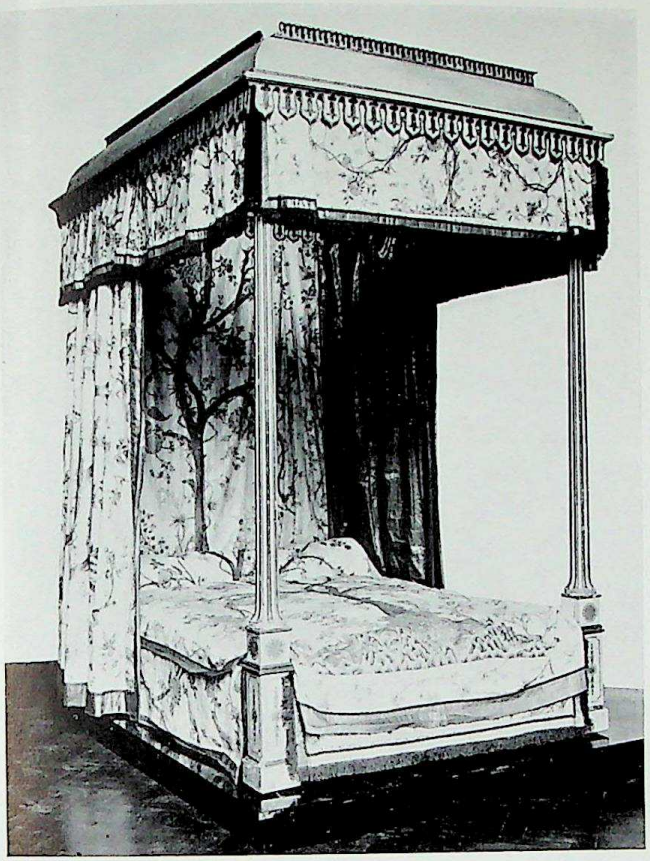

Fig. 16. The Garrick Bed. Acquired by David Garrick and furnished with chintzes in 1774. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. W70-1916*

ordering of a 'chinte for a quilt'[25] perhaps denoted a single long piece for folding. Three methods of stitching were employed: (1) following the outlines of the main pattern;[26] (2) running the stitches in diagonal rows to form a lattice (eg. plate 77); and (3) following an independent pattern (eg. plate 11). Running stitch is used in all three types. Those stuffed with cotton were probably made up in India; but when stuffed with wool (eg. plate 11), they were made up in Europe.

In seventeenth-century trade records, quilts were commonly classified as 'large' and 'small'. Measurements given in 1663 show that they were $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ yards, and $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ yards, respectively;[27] but five years later there is an order for some measuring $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ yards 'or rather larger'.[28]

By 1687 palampores were said to have 'put [quilts] quite out of use'.[29] A palampore was a coverlet composed of a single chintz panel, the word having first appeared in

[25] Masulipatam, 31 December, 1632. Thomas Clarke to Thomas Colley, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial East Indies* 1630–4, p.336.

[26] A seventeenth century chintz quilt in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no.42.11, is quilted with yellow silk in running stitch around the edges of the pattern. It is stuffed with cotton.

[27] Letter Book III., India Office Records, f.239. 'London, 10th August 1663, to Our President and Counsell in Surratt.'

[28] Letter Book IV, India Office Records, f.156. 'London, 27th March 1668, to Our President and Counsell in Surratt.'

[29] Letter Book VIII, India Office Records, f.304. 'London ye 6th June 1687 to our General and Council of India (Bombay).' The complete quotation reads 'Send noe more quilts of any sort Wee having enough to last five or six years, being putt quite out of use by Palempores'.

[30] See above, note 5.

[31] Ordered from Surat in 1684. '... palamposts for coverings of Cypboards and Tables', Letter Book VII, India Office Records, ff.357–58. 'A List of Goods to be provided at Surratt. 1684.'

[32] Sir Thomas Roe, *Embassy*, p.389, footnote.

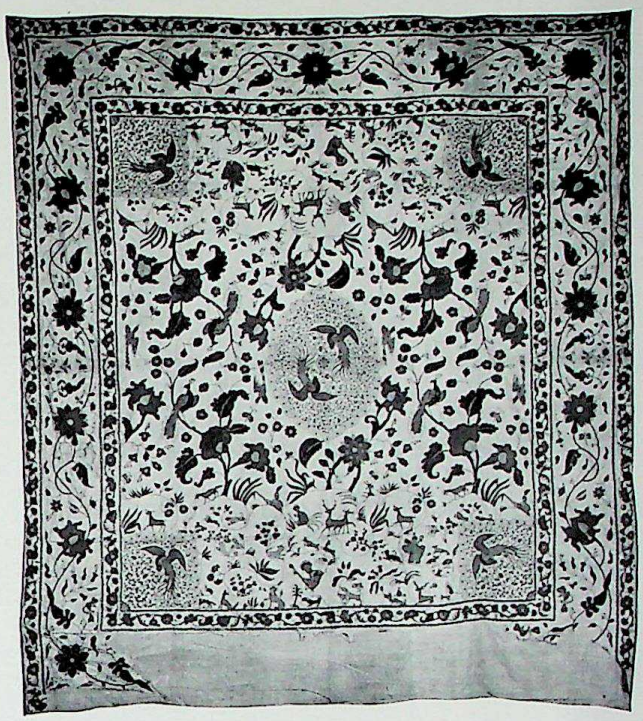

Fig. 17. Palampore: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks in fine chain-stitch. From Gujarat, about 1700. 283cm × 261cm. *Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York*

English East India Company records in 1614.[30] They were commonly listed as a separate class of goods and, although the designs of quilts that survive are indistinguishable from those of palampores, one cannot assume that palampore designs were always interchangeable with those quilts. (As an instance of the confusion of terminology in the East India trade, we can point to at least one case where palampores were ordered as covers for tables and cupboards.)[31] The characteristic seventeenth-century palampore and quilt designs comprised a central medallion and four related corner motifs on a flowery field surrounded by a wide border. The ultimate source of the medallion and corner motifs was probably the Persian manuscript cover, which may also be said to have inspired the same elements in Persian carpet-design; but as we find this convention re-appearing in eighteenth-century palampore designs it was clearly much modified by Western taste (no.77, plate 75). One variation was to substitute armorial bearings for the centre and corner motifs (eg. plates 78 and 79) or bouquets of flowers (plates 76 and 77). The armorial shields were of course left blank by the maker of the original muster so that the details could be filled in to special order. This practice of commissioning Indian textiles with the arms of the purchaser was the much-valued privilege of those who could use influence either with the Company or its individual servants. One of the first to use the privilege was Sir Thomas Roe who, when serving as ambassador to the Mughal court between 1615 and 1619, acquired for himself 'a great carpet with my arms thereon'.[32]

Palampores and quilts were often designed to match sets of hangings or curtains. This practice began in the middle of the seventeenth century when it was customary to include a few matching quilts or palampores with each shipment of hangings. For instance, in 1657 an order was sent to India for 'Chints or Pintadoes 1,000 pieces ...

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Pintadoe Quilts that may match the works of ye Chints, 300'.[33] Later, in 1669, when patterns of 'large branches for Hangings of Romes' were sent to Surat for copying, the order included a hundred quilts 'of the same workes with handsome large Borders'.[34] An example of this kind of matching can be seen at fig.17. This happens to be an embroidered coverlet, but it matches a set of embroidered curtains having the same design-source as the Ashburnham chintz (plate 5). Fig.17, with its 'handsome large border', represents a compromise between the standardised type of palampore design (described above) and the branch design of the curtains it is clearly intended to match. The branches on the coverlet, which grow from end to end, are drawn from the same muster as the embroidered curtains and the chintz hangings, but restriction of space made it possible to include only the lowest branches. Yet, superimposed on them are the conventional palampore medallion-motifs. It was perhaps from such compromises that the double-tree design developed (plates 13 and 43). In both cases the double-trees are drawn on the same scale as their prototypes in hangings. The tradition of corner motifs lingered on into the eighteenth century and an example of this is shown in the early eighteenth century embroidered and chintz palampores of the same flowering tree at figs.18a and b. In the embroidered palampore a vase of flowers has been wedged into each corner. In the chintz version, which is the same height but a little narrower than the embroidery, the flowering tree stands alone.[35] The latter was the commonest arrangement for both palampore and hanging designs in the eighteenth century, although the earlier scheme survived in palampores and quilts (e.g. no.13, plate 11).

Quilts and palampores were also made to match the patterns of floral chintz supplied as piece-goods and it is quite possible that nos.137–39, plates 120 to 122, are examples of this practice but few flowered palampores of this type have survived probably because most of them were cut up for clothing as in the case of no.143, plate 125. A striking example of a palampore matched to a repeating design is no.90, plate 86, which shows Japanese influence. A piece of chintz with identical pattern but a red ground is shown in fig.55.

Seventeenth century palampores, like quilts, were commonly described as 'large' and 'small', but there was no uniformity of size. An order sent in 1685 for 4,000 palampores specifies four sizes: $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ yards, $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ yards, and $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ yards, an equal number of each being required.[36] None of those catalogued exactly corresponds with any of these dimensions, but several are close.

The chintz 'carpets' frequently mentioned in the records were coverlets for furniture, and it should not be supposed that they denoted floor-coverings unless specifically stated.[37] Besides being applied to coverlets for tables, stools and cupboards, the term was sometimes used synonymously with 'bedspread' or 'palampore'. For instance, Celia Fiennes, visiting the home of Mr Rooth in New Inn Lane, Epsom, between 1701 and 1703, describes 'a pladd bed lined with Indian callicoe and an India carpet on the bed'.[38] This identification of 'carpet' with 'bedspread' is confirmed also by the measurements of some of the carpets ordered, which exactly corresponded to large quilts and palampores.[39]

To summarise: chintzes intended for use as hangings and quilts reached Europe in small quantities in the 1620s and 1630s, mainly as articles of private trade. It was not until the 1640s that any serious interest was shown in the com-

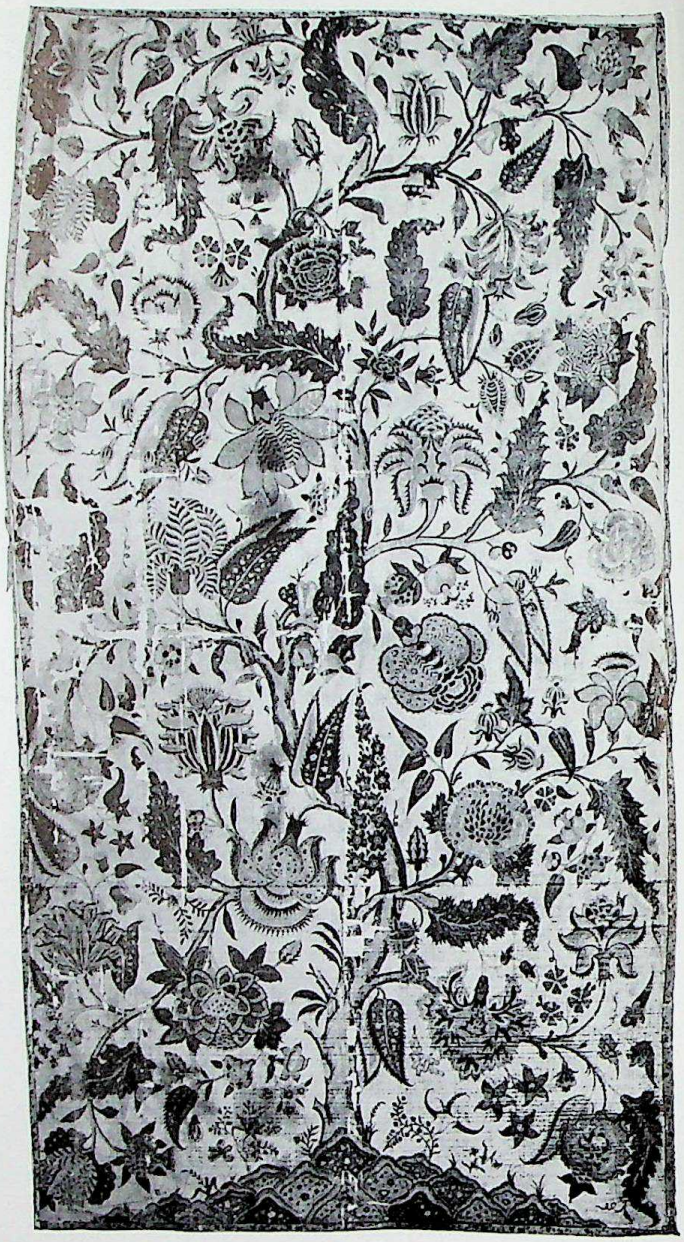

Fig. 18a. Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Probably Madras State, early 18th century. 133·5cm × 259cm. *Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons, acc. no. 1626*

[33] Letter Book II, India Office Records, f.3.'London the 9th November 1657 to the Chiefe of the English Factors and his Assistants in Surratt.'

[34] Letter Book IV, India Office Records, f.326. 'London. 16 February 1669 to Our President and Councell in Surratt.'

[35] No border fragments remain with guard borders which exactly match those on this panel. It could be either a palampore or a hanging.

[36] Letter Book VII, India Office Records, f.474. 'London 13th May 1685. A List of Goods to be provided at Surratt for the next shipping.'

[37] A possible exception appears in the orders sent to Fort St George (Madras) in 1683. After mentioning bed-hangings, the letter says: 'Each bed to have to it 2 small Carpetts $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds wide and 2 yds long.' Letter Book VII, India Office Records, f.208. 'London, 14th Aug^{t}, 1683 to our Agent & Councill at Fort St George.'

[38] *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* edited by Christopher Morris, 1947, p.346.

[39] For instance in 1682 an order was sent to Surat for 'Calico Carpetts of several Sorts of painting ... to be 1 yard long and $\frac{3}{4}$ broad and some to be 2 yards long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ broad and about half the quantity to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards long $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards broad ...' Letter Book VII, India Office Records, f.31. London y^{e} 28th August, 1682. 'A List of Goods to be provided at Surratt.'

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Fig. 18b. Palampore: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks mainly in satin-stitch. From Gujarat, 18th century. 340·3cm × 228·5cm. *Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 958.17*

mercial possibilities of this branch of trade, and from then onwards detailed instructions were sent about the colours and patterns appropriate to Western taste. In 1669 the English East India Company began sending actual patterns for the Indian cotton-painters to copy. In the 1680s detailed measurements were supplied for the making up of sets, which included wide and narrow bed curtains with matching valances, bedspreads and tester headpieces, and sometimes also matching coverlets for tables and other flat surfaces. By the last quarter of the century, palampores were much more in demand than quilts.

The patterns were mostly floral and included both tree and branchwork designs as well as all-over floral repeats. Other designs were Indianised copies or adaptations of European models, including the work of established designers such as Jean Berain, and many chintzes were commissioned with the buyer's coat-of-arms incorporated in the design. Most surviving chintz furnishings are of eighteenth-century date and show that in spite of legislation prohibiting import into France and England, supplies continued to reach Western Europe on a substantial scale and were often the subject of smuggling.

The thrifty practice of re-making pre-prohibition chintzes also accounts for their disappearance, though some have survived in the decorative patchwork and applied-work curtains and hangings.

Fig. 19. Hanging or curtain: painted and dyed cotton. Bearing stamp of United East India Company. Probably Madras State, early 18th century. 361cm × 92cm. *Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, acc. no. T9075*

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Chapter 7

Costume

The use of chintz for costume did not become fashionable among the upper classes in Europe until the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Before this, the cheaper grades which had been reaching Europe in comparatively small quantities had found some market among the lower classes, and also for use as linings. In 1647, for instance, Lady Verney wrote to her husband in France asking for 'anything that will be soe wellcom as gorgetts, and eyther cutt or painted callicoes to wear under them or what is most in fashion'.[1] It is not until the 1670s that chintz is frequently mentioned as a costume material coveted for its own sake. A well-known reference in contemporary French literature is M. Jourdain's comment in Act I, Scene 2 of Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, written in 1670: referring to his own chintz gown he says, 'Je me suis fait faire cette indienne-ci ... Mon tailleur m'a dit que les gens de qualité étaient comme cela le matin.' In the same year English taste for such garments is reflected in a letter written from Masulipatam, advising a would-be buyer that 'such a goune as you desire is not to be had unless it be bespoken'.[2] This vogue for chintz gowns apparently goes back to at least 1661 when Samuel Pepys bought 'an Indian gown for myself'. Two years later he received for his wife 'a very noble particoloured Indian gown'.[3] There are indications that the rise of chintz in fashion began with informal wear such as 'morning gowns', and this could account for the fact that no specimen dating from this period has survived.[4] In 1680 it was said to be in use for 'Vestments of all sorts'.[5] Three years later, however, the directors of the English East India Company were regretting in a letter addressed to their agents at Surat that it was 'the ware of Gentlewomen in Holland but of the meaner sort here'.[6] They were nevertheless aware of the possibility that, once fashionable in Holland, chintz would soon be in demand among the ladies of England. This is just what happened, and in 1687 they reported that chintz had 'become the weare of Ladyes of the greatest quality which they wear on the outside of Gowns and Mantuoes, which they line with Velvet and Cloth of Gold.'[7] The ascent to the throne of William and Mary in 1690 naturally gave fresh impetus to Dutch fashions in England, with the result that four years later the directors were able to write: 'The greatest Ladyes will now wear [chintzes] for upper Garments as well as for Petticoates. They can never make, nor you send us, too many of them.'[8]

The French and English prohibition laws of 1686 and 1700 respectively did nothing to diminish the popularity of chintz for costume. It continued to be worn, when obtainable, in spite of heavy fines,[9] and sometimes in face of the barbarous behaviour of the populace who sought to tear it off ladies' backs. Eight years after English prohibition, Daniel Defoe, angered by the inefficacy of the law, wrote scornfully that 'the Chints and Painted Callicoes, which before were only made Use of for Carpets, Quilts, etc and to cloth Children of ordinary People, became now the Dress of our Ladies, and such is the Power of a Mode, we saw our Persons of Quality dress'd in Indian Carpets, which a few Years before their Chamber-Maids would have thought too ordinary for them; the Chints were advanced from lying on their Floors to their Backs, from the Foot-Cloth to the Petticoat, and even the QUEEN Herself at that Time was pleased to appear in China and Japan, I mean China Silks and Callico ...'[10] Other similar tirades appear at the beginning of the eighteenth century, some of them in political pamphlets keeping up the protest on behalf of English silk weavers.

Unfortunately no high-fashion chintz costume earlier than the eighteenth century has as yet come to light, and there are comparatively few pieces that can be dated earlier than the middle of the century. An early example is the man's informal morning gown, plate 96, dating from the turn of the century. As already mentioned such gowns had come into fashion about 1660. They were enormously popular in the Netherlands where many eighteenth century examples have survived. In that country, where no restrictions on the importation of chintz hampered the

[1] Margaret M. Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney family*, London, 1892, vol.II, p.236.
[2] 'The correspondence of Richard Edwards', *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta, vol.17, 1918, pp.145–6.
[3] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by H.B.Wheatley, London, 1893–9; vol.II, p.62, and vol.III, p.352.
[4] An engraving by Nicholas Bonnart dated 1676 shows a man in a long capacious morning gown, the caption reading 'Cette robe d'Armenian est un dishabille commode ...' The Armenians were prominent in India as middlemen in the chintz trade.
[5] Mr Pollexfen in the House of Commons, 9th November, 1680. India Office Tracts, vol.83, p.82.
[6] Letter Book VII, India Office Records, f.210. It should also be mentioned that in Montreal, Canada, where French fashions were imitated, 'Indiennes' could be bought from the merchant Charles le Moyen before 1685. One of his inventories prior to 1700 lists more than one hundred aunes of 'Toile Peinte en plusieurs couleurs'. Quoted by E-Z Massicotte in the introduction to his article, 'La Costume Masculin à Montréal au Dix-Septième Siècle', *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, Section I, 1939, pp.127–47.
[7] Letter Book VIII, India Office Records, f.274. Letter to Surat dated 23rd March, 1687.
[8] Letter Book IX, India Office Records, f.307. 'London the 3rd January 1693–94. To Our President & Council of Fort St George.'
[9] In 1768 two ladies were fined £5. 0. 0 for wearing chintz gowns. This was reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.XXXVIII, p.395.
[10] Daniel Defoe, *Weekly Review*, Facsimile Text Society, Columbia University Press, 1938, Book II, p.606.

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whims of fashion, a considerable quantity of chintz costume has been preserved. Some are garments of high fashion, but most survive in the form of popular regional dress. It was especially esteemed in Friesland, for instance, where it was prescribed by fashion for certain garments, a notable example being a kind of outer gown, called *wentke*, worn by the women of Hindelopen. A particularly handsome example is shown at plate 109.

Chintz continued to play a part in every change of fashion in the second half of the eighteenth century. Plate 142 shows a beautifully made dress of about 1770. Here the glazed chintz overdress is lined with striped taffeta, and one can well imagine that the gleam of its satin-like surface, combined with the rustle of the silk lining to give a most opulent effect. Similarly, the combination of gilding and glazing in the dress at plate 129, which has been altered to keep it in fashion. Throughout the eighteenth century, chintz also remained in vogue as a male fashion, not only for informal morning gowns, sometimes with matching waistcoats (see plate 158), but also for light summer wear. A French fashion plate of 1780 illustrating a man's suit is described underneath as being of printed cotton with borders of painted cotton (*toile peinte*).[11]

Chintzes used for costume fall into two groups: those designed for a specific garment, and those with repeating patterns produced as yardage. Specific references to garments are rare in the English East India Company records, but they sometimes occur in private correspondence exchanged between English merchants in India, suggesting that they were a lucrative side-line in private trade. The merchant Robert Freeman, writing to his compatriot Richard Edwards from Masulipatam in 1670 said that the sort of gown he was wanting could not be had unless bespoken, which took three months, adding that the place to buy it was Petaboli 'where all such things as gounes and Chinses are painted ...'[12]

When gowns and petticoats were specially ordered, the cotton-painter sometimes shaped his pattern to the costume, working from given measurements. The man's gown at plate 96 is a case in point. It is intended to resemble a Japanese kimono, a garment much coveted in Holland which was sometimes copied in chintz as a substitute for the rarer silken article.[13] Here the branches of the tree extend to the front and down the sleeves, as in conventional kimono designs. Such designs required the garment to be partly made up before the painting was begun. This one, which has long sleeves and a straight front opening, needed a wider cloth than was normally available, and so two strips were added at the outset. Some made for the Dutch market have a more complicated cut. To each of the fronts, for instance, was sewn a wedge-shaped piece to pro-

[11] This plate is by le Clere and shows a 'Fraque d'été de toile vermicellée à petites bandes de toile peinte ...' Another plate by him, about 1780, shows a man in a morning gown very like that referred to above engraved by Bonnart in 1676.

[12] 'The Correspondence of Richard Edwards', *Bengal Past and Present*, vol.17, 1918, pp.145–6.

[13] The design of this gown has been discussed in detail by K.B.Brett, 'The Japanese style in Chintz design', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, Ahmedabad, no.5, 1960, pp.42–50.

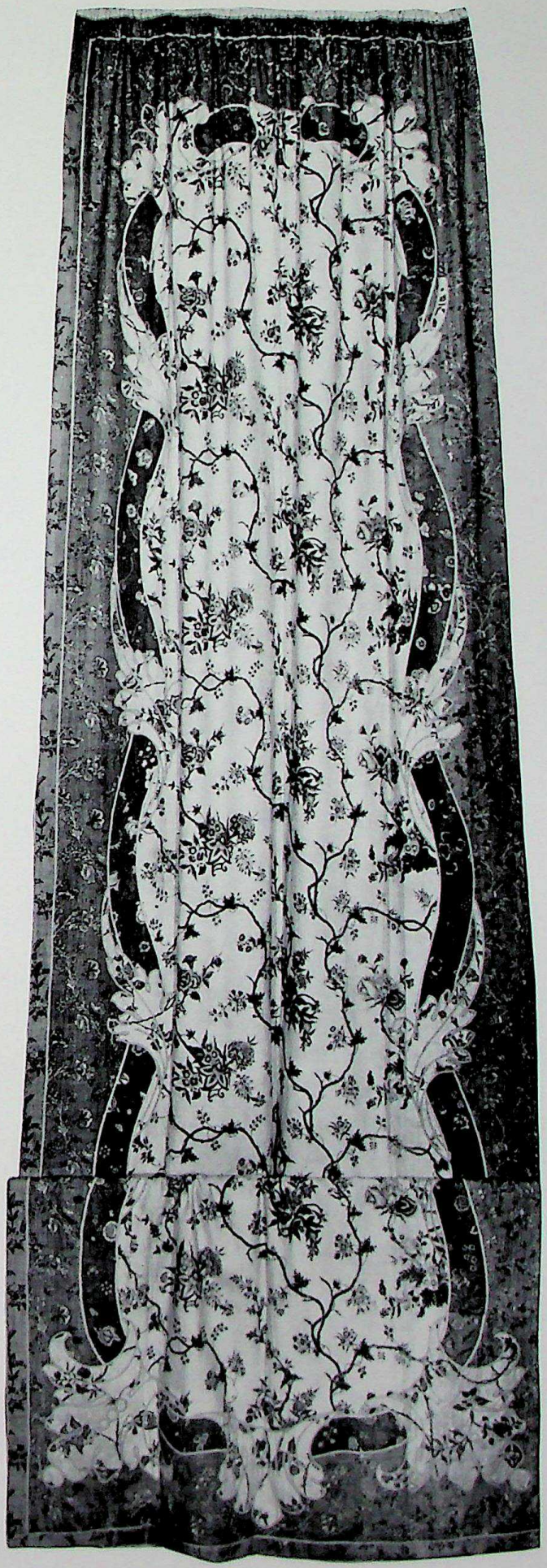

Fig. 20. Window curtain (part of a set): painted and dyed cotton. From Coromandel Coast, 18th century. *Colonial Williamsburg, USA, acc. no. 1937-165 (2585)*

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Fig. 21. Valance: painted and dyed cotton. Provenance uncertain, early 18th century. 162cm × 35cm. *Josephine Howell Collection, New York*

vide a more generous cross-over to the garment, and these were also added prior to painting.[14]

The first group of costume chintzes mentioned above includes many petticoats. These were produced with a border running along one side (when made up, running along the lower part of the skirt), the remainder of the ground being filled with flower-sprays, sprigs, or bouquets. Plates 98a and b and 99 represent a showy group of such petticoats. The flame-like arches decorating the borders of the first two pieces seem to owe something to Indonesian art (and it must be remembered that for centuries India has specialised as an exporter to the south-east Asian countries). At plate 99, on the other hand, the symmetrical bouquets and tight garlands suggest Persian art. The general effect of all three designs is distinctly exotic. This accorded with contemporary Dutch taste, and it is perhaps understandable that many surviving examples of these types are to be found in Dutch collections.

Two specimens in the catalogue show that petticoat material was sometimes applied to other uses. At plate 99, for instance, is a coverlet; and at plate 103b, a cope.[15]

The most numerous surviving chintz-costumes are composed of ordinary repeating yardage, without borders, and with flowering-branch patterns. These are the 'flower'd chints' so often mentioned in East India Company records from 1660 onwards. They could, of course, equally well have served as furnishing fabrics, as already mentioned in chapter 6. The usual demand was for as much variety of pattern as possible.[16] In 1663, directions were sent for large or small flowers on red or white grounds.[17] In 1671, half the year's supply was to be with large flowers, and the other half with small, all 'full of workes'.[18] To such directions were sometimes added the sort of comment which reveals year-to-year change in fashion: 'Now this for a constant and general Rule that in all flowered Silks you change the fashion and flower as much as you can every year, for English Ladies and they say the French and other Europeans will give twice as much for a new thing not seen in Europe before though worse, then they will give for a better silk of ye same fashion worn the former years.'[19] The result of this practice in the chintz trade is noted with irritation by the London directors in the same year: 'We do not dislike ye manner of your application to us, for a further Indulgence for new invented stuffes, but ye matter of it Wee doe totally reject haveing found by experience that new stuffes work upon the old ones as dryed Spratts do upon Red herrings, the former pull down ye prices of ye latter tho' they bee not directly the same.'[20] Nevertheless they continued to ask for new designs – and this in the teeth of the storm over chintz importations. A letter to Madras in 1716 requests 'Chints Morees of the Ordinary Sort. Must think on some new work, little Flowers (but no Flowers at distance) begin to be the fashion';[21] and again later, in 1725, 'the buyers complain of the Chints That they are all of the large Flowers and would like them better if some of them were of smaller flowers, and New Patterns of the large as well as smaller works'.[22]

Today it is difficult to form an impression of the full range of patterns from the comparatively few costume-pieces which survive. The two earliest in the catalogue (plates 3a and b) are in the Indian taste and included only

[14] This device, to provide a generous crossover, is also found in Japanese kimono and in Persian and Turkish coats.
[15] In the Cleveland Museum of Art there is a man's morning gown made out of a gilded chintz petticoat length. We are grateful to our colleagues Mr and Mrs H.B.Burnham for supplying notes on this.
[16] Letter Book II, India Office Records, ff.339–40; and Letter Book III, f.161.
[17] Factory Records Surat, India Office Records, vol.86, ff.17–18.
[18] Letter Book IV, India Office Records, f.532.
[19] Instruction sent to the Bengal factors regarding the ordering of silk piecegoods, 20th May, 1681. Home Miscellaneous Series, India Office Records, vol.803, f.347.
[20] Letter dated 25th January, 1716, to the Madras agents. Letter Book VI, India Office Records, f.252.
[21] Letter Book XVI, India Office Records, f.131.
[22] Letter Book XX, India Office Records, f.33.

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Fig. 22. Tent hanging: painted and dyed cotton. From Burhanpur, Deccan, about 1700. 220cm × 111cm. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM29–1928*

for comparative purposes. Among those made for Europe, the earliest stylistically is the skirt of a Hindelopen *wentke* shown at plate 124, which bears some relation to the pattern of the chintz decorating the walls of the Rijksmuseum doll's house dated 1676 (fig.24). This piece, and the *wentke* at plate 125, were made from palampores. This practice was also followed in England, as we know from a reference dated 1719: '... the ladies converted their Carpets and quilts into Gowns and Petticoats and made the broad and

[23] *A Brief State of the Question between the Printed and Painted Callicoes, and the Woollen and Silk Manufacture*, a tract by Daniel Defoe, published anonymously, London, 1719, p.11.

[24] A.M.Lubberhuizen van Gelder, 'Hindeloper "wentken" ', Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, no.4, 1954, p.92.

[25] *The journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited by Christopher Morris, London, 1947, p.346. In her travels of 1701–03 she noted at the home of Mr Rooth at Epsom a 'bed crimson damaske lined with white India sattin with gold and crimson flowers printed ...'. This must have been a gilded chintz.

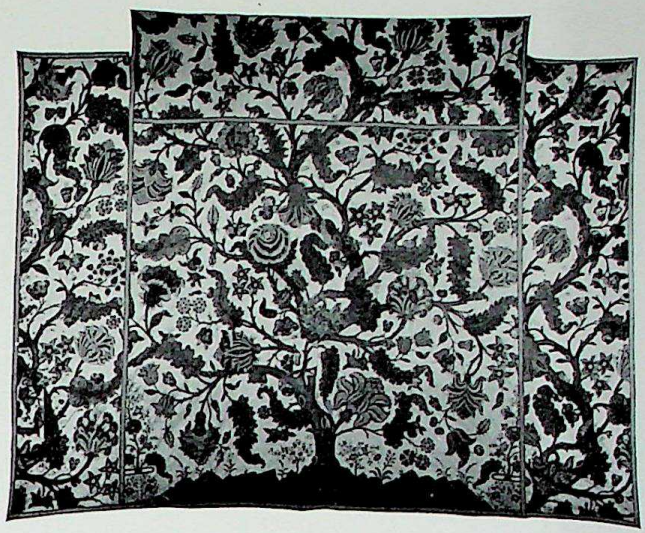

Fig. 23. Bedspread: painted and dyed cotton. Probably Madras State, early 18th century. Centre panel 246cm × 196cm. *Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, acc. no. T9075*

uncouth Bordures of the former serve instead of the rich Laces and Embroideries they were used to wear.'[23]

It is not surprising that many of the flowery chintzes of the eighteenth century followed closely the ever changing fashion in flowered silks and printed cottons and linens. By far the simplest method of providing the Indian chintz painter with the latest fashion in flowery patterns was to despatch to India swatches of silks or printed cottons as soon as new designs appeared. There is no documentary evidence that this was done, but there are a number of surviving chintzes which can be traced to European copperplate and woodblock patterns. These can be recognised on stylistic grounds, and also because some copy the European cotton-printers' practice of producing patterns which matched when lengths were joined together at the selvedges (for instance, plate 140b). Two Indian chintz patterns have already been identified with French Oberkampf prototypes (plates 144a and 146a and b). The latter is a close but slightly enlarged copy of the French woodblock print at fig.26. To give it an added touch of elegance, not found in European woodblock prints, it has been both gilded and silvered. A design such as plate 130 may have been copied from a copperplate print, this technique having been invented in 1752, when many designs with slender floral branch meanders were made for costume in England and France. These prints, usually monochrome, were transformed by the Indian copyist into rich polychrome patterns, sometimes gilded as at plate 129, and sometimes embroidered over the outlines as in the case of no.158.

Gilded chintzes were in great demand throughout. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century numerous references appear in Dutch records.[24] Oddly enough, similar references have not been traced in English East India Company records, although we know from Celia Fiennes' travels that they were well known in England.[25]

A striking group of repeat-patterns is inspired by the symmetrical, highly stylised flower, foliage and ornament patterns found in European silks of the first half of the eighteenth century. By comparing plate 111 with the man's banyan of richly brocaded silk at fig.25, we can recognise the connection. Another related group of early eighteenth-century chintz patterns is inspired by the so-called 'bizarre'

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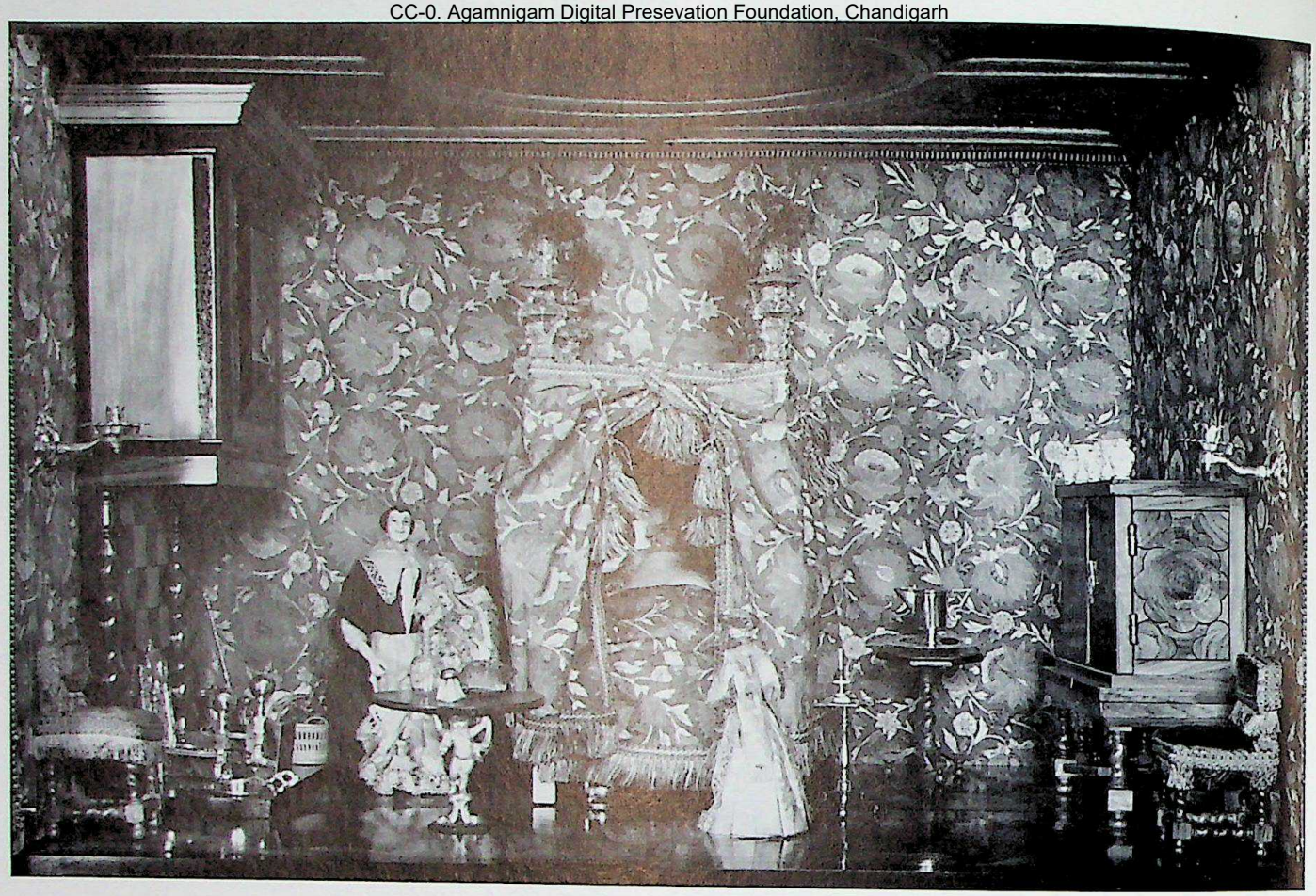

Fig. 24. Lying-in room of a Dutch Doll's House made in 1672. The walls decorated with chintz from North Deccan (probably Burhanpur). *Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, acc. no. 357*

style of European silks (plates 115 to 118).[26] Both occur in variety in Dutch costume – particularly men's morning gowns and the *wentken* of Holland.[27]

Chintz continued to be fashionable for costume well into the nineteenth century, a late example being the morning gown at plate 150b, which was apparently made in the 1840s out of older material.

Summarising this chapter, we can say that chintz began to be fashionable for costume in Europe in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when it was especially in favour for gentlemen's morning gowns. In the last quarter of the century its use was extended to a wide variety of garments, both male and female. In France its use was checked by the prohibition law of 1686; but in Holland and England it was at its fashionable peak at the turn of the century. The English prohibition law of 1700 was openly defied and did little to diminish its popularity though the law of 1720 was at least partially effective. Even so, chintz remained a fashionable and much coveted material for costume throughout the eighteenth century. In Holland, where there had been no legislation prohibiting use, its popularity extended to the populace, and in certain regions such as Friesland it achieved status as a kind of folk costume.

[26] We disassociate ourselves entirely from the thesis of Dr Vilhelm Slomann (*Bizarre Designs in Silks*, Copenhagen, 1953) that the 'bizarre style' originated in India. Our case against Dr Slomann is embodied in the review of his book by J. Irwin in the *Burlington Magazine*, Vol.XCVII, 1955, pp.153–4 and the exchange with Dr Slomann in subsequent issues.

[27] The gown known in Holland as *wentke* is especially associated with the town of Hindelopen in Friesland. The original *wentke* was a woollen gown worn by women, and it was not until chintz became popular that cotton was substituted. Hindelopen women were especially fond of chintzes and they hoarded them, handing them down from generation to generation, often to be re-tailored. This probably explains why there is so often a discrepancy in age between pattern and cut (eg. no.122, plate 109). A good collection of *wentken* can be seen in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden.

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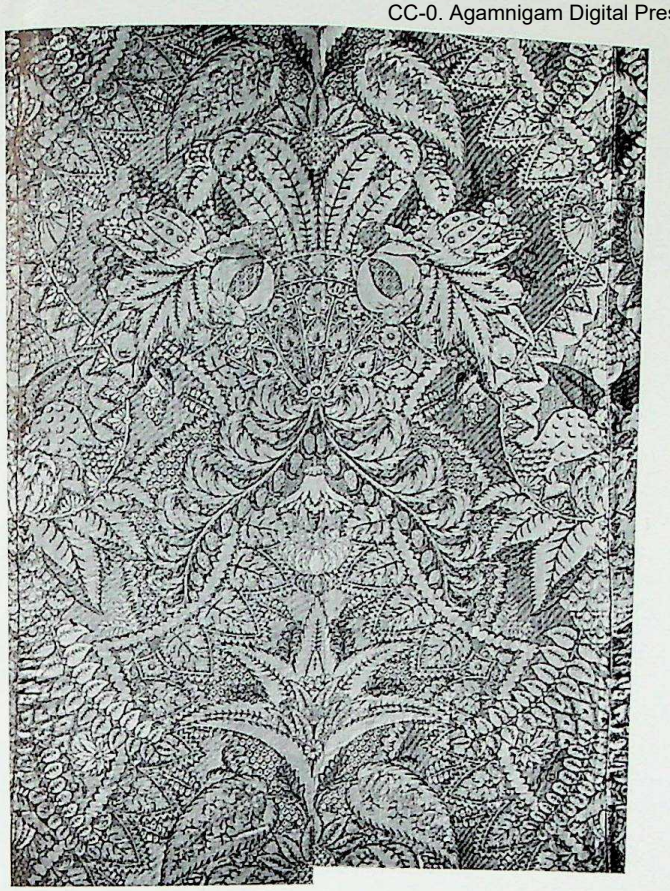

Fig. 25. Banyan of polychrome silk. French, about 1730. *Costume Institute, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Given by Mr Chester Dale, acc. no. C153-74. 7a and b*

Fig. 26. Paper impression of designs for block-printed cottons. Jouy (Oberkampf factory), late 18th century. 7·8cm × 17·2cm. *Morton Sundour Collection, Carlisle*

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Appendix 'A'

Beaulieu's account of the technique of Indian cotton-painting, c.1734*

Introduced and with a commentary by P. R. Schwartz

While investigating the history of French cotton-printing in the eighteenth century, I became aware of the possibility that there existed somewhere in France a document of unique importance for the study of methods traditionally employed in India. How the existence of this document came to be sought, and how it was eventually found, are closely involved with the history of the MS. itself, and for this reason the circumstances are worth telling in some detail.

One of the earliest indications of its existence appears in a famous treatise on cotton-painting by the well-known Basle manufacturer, Jean Ryhiner (1728–90).[1] This work, which was written in 1766, includes a penetrating analysis (the first known to have been written by anybody in the trade) of Indian methods, which the author claimed to have based on two sources: on the one hand, the now famous letter of the Jesuit Father Coeurdoux written in 1742;[2] and on the other, '*le Chapitre Ier, de la Méthode des Indiens, selon le rapport de M. de Beaulieu à M. Dufay, de Pondichéry* (the first chapter of the method practised by the Indians, according to the account given by M. de Beaulieu to M. Dufay, from Pondicherry).'

There is no evidence that the second source had been published anywhere at that time under such a title;[3] but in 1760 – six years before Ryhiner wrote his treatise – it had appeared in a treatise on cotton-painting by Chevalier de Quérelles.[4] In the latter, Quérelles gave the following information: 'M. Dufay (we retain the original spelling) was kind enough to describe the methods used to make painted cottons in India; M. de Beaulieu, a naval officer, had made a study of them there and had given him an account.' Further on in the same context, M. Dufay is quoted by Quérelles as saying: 'M. de Beaulieu at my instigation made a thorough study of everything connected with the production of painted cottons and he acquitted himself of the task with great accuracy and intelligence; he had a piece of cotton painted in his presence and not only did he give a minute account of the whole process but [my italics, P.R.S.] *after each stage of the proceedings cut off a piece from the cloth which he brought back with him together with samples of all the materials used in the process.* I shall give a detailed description of this: After his return M. de Beaulieu took the trouble to repeat the whole procedure in front of me with the materials he had brought back, and he was completely successful: we can thus be perfectly satisfied as to the accuracy of what I am about to report ...'

It seemed obvious to me that the M. Dufay in question must have been the famous colour chemist of that name who died in 1739. Therefore, there must have existed – and perhaps still exist somewhere – sample fabrics of an earlier date showing successive stages in the production of Indian painted cottons. If still existing, then it seemed at the time that the chances of recovering them were slender – until my friend and Paris correspondent M. Paul Leuilliot[5] who had been informed of the matter, remembered something of the kind having appeared in a temporary exhibition[6] at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in 1931. Under item no.232 of the catalogue (of which he retained a copy) appeared MS. entitled *Manière de fabriquer les toiles peintes dans l'Inde telle que M. de Beaulieu, capitaine de vaisseau, l'a fait exécuter devant lui à Pondichéry (XVIIIème siècle).*' Fortunately the description following the

* This paper was first published in the *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.2, Ahmedabad, India, 1956.

[1] Jean Ryhiner, *Traité sur la fabrication et le commerce des toiles peintes*, written in 1766, published only in 1865. The original MS. is owned by the Société Industrielle de Mulhouse, Mulhouse, France. Cf. *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, no.3, 1950, pp.23 and 36 (n.3), no.2, 1953, pp.64 and 73 (n.6).

[2] *Lettres édifiantes des Pères de la Mission*, vol.26, Paris, 1743. This letter is published in English translation by G.P.Baker, *Calico painting and printing in the East Indies*, London, 1921, pp.11–16. I hope to present a revised translation and commentary with my next article, to appear in this journal next year (see Appendix 'B').

[3] A summary of Beaulieu's text is given in the preface of a work published in Paris, 1800. The author (anonymous) writes: 'The (Indian) process was described in 1736 by Beaulieu, a ship's captain. He had been commissioned by Dufay, etc. ...' I do not know where the date 1736 came from. Considering the movements of the naval officer in question it would be more likely to be 1735 or even 1734. The summary contains one inaccuracy: the author writes of three madder baths, whereas the narrator in fact only mentioned two. I draw attention to this error because it recurs in a recent work by our late and lamented Bernard Roy, *Une capitale de L'indiennage: Nantes*, published in that town in 1948, who reprinted the text of 1800 as something new, not knowing the contents of Quérelles' treatise of 1760. The 1800 publication is entitled, *l'Art de peindre et d'imprimer les toiles et grand et en petit teint*, by B ... On the line below are the initials A.J.D.M. The author appears to have remained anonymous. We found no mention of him either by Barbier or by Quérard. Certain historians of cotton painting and some bibliographers identify 'B' with Beaulieu, because that name occurs in the introduction. Obviously it cannot refer to the naval officer of that name as he died in 1764, thirty-six years before publication of the treatise which, moreover, describes French manufacture and technique in use at the end of the eighteenth century, and mentions also in the bibliography works published 1760–1799, including the above-mentioned one by Quérelles.

[4] Chevalier de Quérelles, *Traité sur les toiles peintes*, Paris, 1760. Cf. *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Mulhouse, France, no.2, 1953, pp.67, 68 and 76 (n.16). We find in this treatise 'chapter one, On the method of producing painted cotton in India'. So far nothing is known of the author's cotton painting talents beyond the information he himself gives in the preface of his book. 'I made for Madame la Marquise de Fervaques in Paris a hanging eleven feet high (1 French foot 32·48cm = 3·5728m) representing a garden where the Emperor of China is placed under a beautiful pavilion, surrounded by guards etc. ... This piece is worthy to be seen by connoisseurs, they know how difficult it is to execute such a work.' A Fervaques mansion, dating from the seventeenth century, was demolished in the nineteenth century when the Rue du Louvre was pierced in Paris. There seems to be no trace of an inventory of the furniture. In answer to a question inserted in a Paris publication *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux*, three replies were received, July 1955, January and August 1956. It appears from them that the family originates from Languedoc, southern France, and that a certain number of Quérelles and Quérel lived at Montpellier, military men and magistrates. Besides his work on cotton painting and printing, Quérelles published a *Treatise on fortifications*, Paris, 1745 and 1749, and in 1772 a project concerning a military establishment. We saw already that he was acquainted with Du Fay the chemist. Now, I discovered that an abbot Du Fay published in 1707 a method of fortification, but do not know if these two Du Fays belonged to the same family. A Quérelles lodged the future Napoleon III in Strasbourg, when preparing his political strategem in this town in 1836.

[5] Member of the Société Industrielle de Mulhouse, Director of Studies of the 6th section of the École pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne), and a specialist on the industrial and economic history of Alsace.

[6] The exhibition was devoted to material bearing upon French possessions abroad.

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title – the author of which certainly knew nothing about cotton painting – began with the information that 'several specimens of painted cotton are attached to this little MS.' All that remained was for me to visit the library which lent the MS. to the exhibition (the library of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris) and there see for myself, in the department of manuscripts, a slim notebook in excellent condition, with twelve pages of text and eleven sample fabrics of cloth, the average size of which was about 14.60 × 11.20cm. – the vitally important work on the history of cotton painting for which I had been searching.[7]

A comparison of the text of the above notebook with that by Chevalier de Quérelles shows that the latter must have had before him additional information supplied by M. Dufay (or else he added his own personal comments). As these are sometimes of interest in themselves, we are including them in the form of footnotes to the Beaulieu text.

The Muséum document does not bear a date, but it must have originated before the death, in 1739, of Charles-François Du Fay de Cisternay, who was born in 1698 and was official Inspector of Dye-Works and Mines, and Inspector of the Botanical Gardens in Paris – one of the great French colour chemists of the eighteenth century.[8] We are thus in possession of the earliest accurate technical description of a known method of producing painted cottons, and moreover the only one which has come down to us complete with patterns, which greatly enhances its value. The second detailed description, which has already been mentioned and is well known to students of the subject, is the letter of the Jesuit Father Coeurdoux, dated 18th January, 1742, also based on investigations at Pondicherry.

It seems almost certain that the author of the MS. can be identified with Antoine Georges Nicolas Henri de Beaulieu (son of Jacques) of St Malo, residing in Paris, born between 12th March and 24th May, 1699, died 24th May, 1764 at Lorient, husband of Louise Thérèse Charlotte Groux.[9] He was employed by the Compagnie des Indes, was midshipman in 1722, and between 1726 and 1739 stayed five times at Pondicherry – on one occasion (in the course of his third voyage) from 29th July until 27th September, 1734, as 2nd Lieutenant of the ship *Maurepas*. This ship, which returned to France on 8th April, 1735, was commanded by Captain Jacques Du Fay (son of Antoine), of Paris, at that time forty-four years of age. (This coincidence of names is striking and, if a close relationship could be established between Du Fay the naval officer and Du Fay the chemist, this would afford a simple explanation of Beaulieu's mission.) Beaulieu was to visit India again on 9th February, 1736, returning on 20th October, 1739. Appointed Captain in 1743, he does not seem to have travelled after promotion and his name disappears from the lists of the Compagnie des Indes after 1744.[10]

Mlle. M. G. Madier, Librarian at the Muséum where the MS. was found, was kind enough to give me the following additional information of great value:

'The Muséum really owns two Beaulieu manuscripts – MS. 193[1] and 193[2] – but only the former contains patterns. They are not by the same hand. Moreover, neither is in the handwriting of Du Fay which is known from specimens of his signature in the library of the Académie des Sciences, as the secretary-archivist, M. Gauja, has shown. On the other hand it is very probable that MS. 193[2] was written by the famous botanist, Bernard de Jussieu, whose handwriting is similar.[11] MS. 193[1] and 193[2] (the texts are identical) were acquired at the sale of the Jussieu library in 1858, five years after the death of Adrien de Jussieu,[12] who was thus the last owner of the documents before they were acquired by the Muséum.'

I saw in the Library a third copy, which is not mentioned in the catalogue published for the MSS, but will appear in the next edition. The origin and the date of purchase remain unfortunately completely unknown. It bears the stamp of Halliwell-Philipps (1820–89) a distinguished English collector, whose main interest appears to have been principally early English literature. So far no other informations are available regarding this document.

It must be assumed that men of science who were at that time interested in problems of dyeing and cotton-painting either copied out the Beaulieu text themselves or had it copied,[13] since the ban on cotton-printing in France (which was not lifted until 1759) would have made it difficult for Du Fay – an official of the administration – to have it printed.

The following is the full text of the Beaulieu MS. according to version 193[1], now published for the first time. Where appropriate, spellings have been modernised and punctuation added. As already explained, the additional comments attributed to Dufay by Quérelles in his treatise of 1760 are printed here as footnotes. The numbering of the stages of the process is mine.

Manière de fabriquer les toiles peintes dans l'Inde telle que M. de Beaulieu Capitaine de Vaisseau l'a fait exécuter devant lui a Pondichéry.

Method of producing painted cottons in India as demonstrated to M. de Beaulieu, ship's captain, at Pondicherry.

1

L'ouvrier a pris 6 aunes de toile de coton écrue qu'il a fait blanchir sans eau de riz ni de chaux quoique cela se pratique ordinairement pour les toiles blanches ordinaires.

Il a fait piler dans un mortier 30 grains de mirabolans (5 par aune) il les a délayés et bien mêlés dans 2 pots d'eau, il a passé par un ligne cette eau dans laquelle il a trempé et bien frotté la toile, et l'a laissé infuser pendant la nuit.

Le lendemain matin il a mis le vase qui contenait la toile et la liqueur sur le feu et l'y a laissé bouillir pendant une bonne demie heure, puis il l'a retirée et laissé refroidir ensuite il l'a frottée et battue, enfin il l'a lavée dans l'eau claire et l'a fait sécher.

Il a pilé de nouveau 30 grains de mirabolans qu'il faut arroser d'un peu d'eau pendant qu'on les pile et les ayant réduits en consistance de pâte il les a délayés dans 2 serres de lait de buffle, il a passé cette composition par un linge et a délayé les parties de mirabolans qui étaient restées dans le linge dans 3 serres d'eau qu'il a mêlées dans les 2 serres de lait.

La toile étant sèche il l'a lavée dans ce mélange et l'ayant frottée exprimée et relavée 3 fois, il l'a battue et fait sécher, et étant sèche elle est devenue couleur de citron comme l'on voit dans

[7] Thanks to the kindness of Mme Duprat, Director of the Library and of Mlle M. G. Madier, Librarian, I was able to have the document specially photographed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. My grateful thanks are due also to Mr John Irwin of that museum for supervising the translation of both the Beaulieu MS. and this article into English.

[8] *Cf., Les grands maîtres de l'art de la teinture en France au XVIIIe siècle*, Les Cahiers Ciba, Basle, vol.1, no.2, 1946.

[9] From information kindly supplied by Mlle G.Beauchesne, Archivist of the 3ème Arrondissement maritime at Lorient (Morbihan), France, on 13th June, 1953.

[10] Quérelles speaks only of a 'naval officer', whereas the Muséum Ms. states explicitly 'ship's captain' – a rank that Beaulieu did not obtain until after Du Fay's death. Unless the title is a courtesy one, we must conclude that the MS. is a copy made after Beaulieu's promotion.

[11] A MS. entitled *Mémoire Couzier*, known to be in the handwriting of Bernard de Jussieu, is preserved in the same Muséum library.

[12] Adrien de Jussieu, great nephew of the two brothers of that name, celebrated botanists Antoine (1686–1758) and Bernard (1699–77), the latter an exact contemporary of Du Fay and Beaulieu. We know from an undated MS. belonging to the museum library that one of the Jussieu brothers received from Pondicherry (from a Dr Couzier) various chemicals, thirteen in all, for red and blue dyeing, including chay roots, mirobolans, redwood, indigo, etc. A doctor of the name Couzier is mentioned in a work of 1722, according to information kindly supplied by Mlle M. G. Madier of the Muséum library.

[13] The number of Ms. copies with samples might have amounted to about forty-five if we take the following facts into account: Beaulieu had a piece of cloth 6 aunes in length painted in his presence. We can assume that this was in Paris aunes of about 1·188m. We thus have, in round figures, 7·20m of raw material. The width is not indicated but we can make an arbitrary assumption, based on widths of cloth common in India, that it would be at most 7/8th of a Paris aune, ie. 1·05m. After each operation Beaulieu had a piece of half an aune cut off, which would give us a piece of about 60 × 105cm. (I am ignoring shrinkage due to handling of material.) If we assume the samples to be the same as the Muséum MS. – that is, c. 14·60 × 11·20cm – it would have been possible to furnish about forty-five notebooks of the same size. This is the maximum number because smaller patterns would have been of little use for the text.

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le morceau No. 1. Il a ensuite battu la toile sur un billot de bois très dur et poli avec des pilons d'environ 15 pouces et dont le gros bout en a 6 à 7 de diametre: c'est là toute la préparation qu'il a donnée â la toile, qu'il a ensuite poncée avec du charbon pilé après l'avoir étendue sur une table.

Il a mis dans de l'écorce de riz 1 livre de pierres vitrioliques (j'en ai) et les ayant bien couvertes il a jeté dessus quelques charbons ardents, le feu a pris à l'écorce de riz qu'il a laissé consommer ce qui a duré 2 bonnes heures, lorsque les pierres ont été refroidies il les a mises dans 2 serres de Chouris (c'est une liqueur qu'on tire par incision du tronc des cocotiers) et les y a laissées pendant 3 jours, les exposant pendant le jour au soleil et les couvrant pendant la nuit. Il a tracé avec cette liqueur tous les endroits qui doivent être bleus verts ou violets dans la toile.

Il a fait bouillir 4 onces de bois du Japon dans 1 serre d'eau jusqu'à réduction de moitié ou environ, et en relevant cette liqueur de dessus le feu il y a jeté un once d'alun. C'est avec cette liqueur qu'il a tracé tout ce qui devait être rouge dans la pièce.

Avec ces mêmes liqueurs il a ombré tout ce qui devait l'être tant en rouge qu'en noir.[14] *C'est après ce travail que le morceau dessous a été coupé* (plate A, no. 1).

The workman took 6 aunes of raw cotton cloth which he bleached without using either rice-water or lime, although these are customary when bleaching ordinary cloth.

He ground 30 grains of mirabolans in a mortar (5 per aune), diluted and mixed them well in 2 potfuls of water; he strained the water, steeped and rubbed the cloth in it, and then left the cloth to soak during the night.

Next morning he put the vessel containing the cloth and liquor on a stove and allowed it to boil for a good half hour, after which he removed it and let it cool, and then rubbed and beat it; finally he washed it in fresh water and left it to dry.

He ground another 30 grains of mirabolans, which must be moistened with a little water while ground, and when these had formed a paste he diluted them with two sers of buffalo milk, he strained this mixture through a piece of calico and washed the residue of mirabolans in 3 sers of water which he then mixed with the 2 sers of milk.

When the cloth was dry he washed it in this liquor and after rubbing it, squeezing it out and re-washing it three times, he beat it and let it dry; and after it was dry it took on a lemon yellow colour as can be seen in specimen No. 1 (plate A). He then beat the cloth on a block of very hard polished wood with pestles of about 15 inches, the wide end having a diameter of some 6 or 7 inches: this was all the treatment the cotton received, and he then spread it on a table and pounced the design with crushed charcoal.

He next covered 1 livre of vitriolic stones (I have some) with husks of rice and threw glowing charcoal over them. The husks caught fire and he allowed them to burn away, which took a good two hours; when the stones had cooled he put them in 2 sers of Chouris (this is a liquid that is tapped from the trunks of cocoanut trees) and left them there for three days, exposing them to the sun during the day and covering them up at night. He used this liquid to trace out all the parts that were to be blue, green or violet on the cloth.

He boiled 4 ounces of Sapan wood in 1 ser of water until about half had boiled away, and removing the liquor from the fire he added one ounce of alum. He used this liquor to trace out the parts that were to be red in the cloth.

With these liquors he shaded all the parts that had to be shaded, whether red or black.[14] It was after this process that he cut the piece attached below (plate A, no. 1).

2

Il a lavé la toile dans l'eau et l'a fait sécher. Il a pilé une livre et demie de Raye de Chaye et l'ayant bien pulvérisée il l'a mise dans 3 pots d'eau, il y a plongé la toile qui était encore un peu humide et l'a fait bouillir à feu modéré pendant 2 heures ayant attention de remuer souvent la toile, il a retiré le vase et a laissé la toile dans le bain jusqu'à ce qu'il fut refroidi, puis il l'a retirée, l'a lavie dans l'eau fraiche et l'a fait sécher.[15]

C'est après cette opération que le 2ème morceau a été coupé. Na La Raye de Chaye m'est connue, mais on peut lui substituer la garance ou Kermès ou la Cochenille.

He washed the cloth in water and dried it. He ground $1\frac{1}{2}$ livres of chay-root, and when it was well pulverised he put it in 3 potfuls of water; he immersed the cloth, still slightly damp, and boiled it over a moderate fire for 2 hours, taking care to stir the cloth frequently. He took the vessel off the fire and left the cloth in the bath until it was cold, then removed and washed it in fresh water and dried it.[15]

The 2nd piece was cut after this operation. *Note:* Chay-root is known to me, but madder, kermes or cochineal can be used instead.

3

Pour faire perdre au fond de la toile la couleur sale qu'elle avait contractée par l'opération précédente, il a délayé 3 livres de fiente de cabri dans 4 pots d'eau, une heure après il a mis la toile dedans et l'y a laissée pendant la nuit, le lendemain matin il l'a bien exprimée et étendue sur les bords d'un étang et il jetait de temps en temps un peu d'eau dessu pour l'entretenir humide. Il l'a fait tremper le soir dans de l'eau comme la veille et l'y laissa pendant la nuit. Le lendemain il l'a exposée et arrosée sur le bord de l'étang. Il a recommencé cette même opération une troisième fois et sur la fin du jour il l'a laissé sécher entièrement, l'a lavée dans l'étang et l'a fait sécher. Cette opération a blanchi le fond comme on le voit dans le 3ème morceau ci-accosté.[16]

To remove the rather dirty colour acquired by the ground during the preceding operation he soaked 3 livres of kid dung in 4 potfuls of water. One hour later he immersed the cloth in the liquor and left it overnight; the next morning he squeezed it out well and spread it on the edge of a pond, sprinkling it with a little water from time to time to keep it damp. In the evening he again immersed it in water as before and left it overnight. The next day he laid it out on the edge of the pond and sprinkled it. He repeated the operation a third time and towards evening let it dry completely, then washed it in the pond and dried it. This process bleached the ground as can be seen in the adjoining 3rd piece (plate A).[16]

4

Il a ensuite lavé la toile dans une eau de riz claire et l'a fait sécher et étant séchée il l'a battue sur un tronc d'arbre comme on a dit ci-devant.

Il a tracé ensuite avec de la cire fondue les petites lignes qui servent à panacher les fleurs qui sont destinées à être teintes en bleu et où il doit y avoir des réservés blanc. Il se sert pour cela d'une plume de fer faite exprès dont une partie est garnie d'un morceau de toile.[17] *C'est après cette opération qu'on a coupé le 4éme morceau.*

[14] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'For it should be noted that the infusion of vitriolic stones turns black on cloth prepared with Mirabolan. In order to draw the lines he used a kind of pen made of two blades of reed pressed together and attached to a little handle, about as thick as an ordinary pen. After this preparation M. de Beaulieu cut off another half-aune of cloth, which he brought back to me and which I am keeping in this state: it is yellowish, as I have already said, and the outlines and shadows of the stalks and leaves and of some of the flowers are a rather unpleasant pale red, but we shall soon see that this red does not remain and that it only serves as a foundation for the other.'

[15] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'M. de Beaulieu then cut a second $\frac{1}{2}$-aune of cloth so as to preserve it in that state. The ground is a little greyer and darker than in the first piece, the black lines are more intense and the ones that were pale red after the first operation are now a very dark, rather vivid, red.'

[16] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'M. de Beaulieu preserved a third piece in this state; it resembles the preceding one in every respects except for the ground which is almost white with only a slight touch of yellow in certain parts, and the fact that the red is a little more vivid.'

[17] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'M. de Beaulieu brought back several such pens, as well as other ones which I have already described, and half an aune of the cloth after the operation; it hardly differs from the other piece, except that on close observation, or looked at against the light, small wax lines can be seen.'

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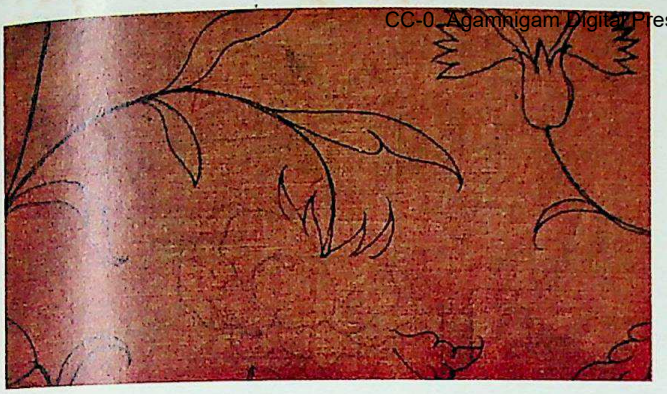
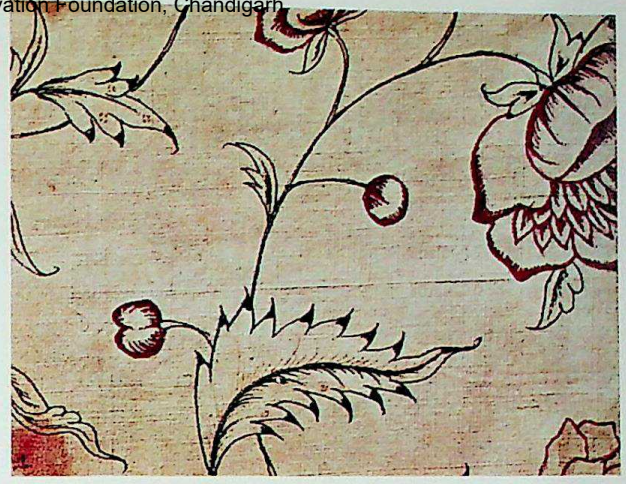


Specimen 1. Showing the yellowish colour of the cloth after initial preparation; black lines drawn with iron mordant mixed with myrobolan, and red-tinted lines drawn with aluminium mordant



Specimen 4. Fine wax lines are applied to the leaf to produce a subsequent resist effect

Specimen 2. After first maddering. The black and red lines have become more conspicuous

Specimen 5. Wax is applied to the remaining surfaces required to be reserved for the indigo-bath. (The wax is stained blue from previous use)

Specimen 3. Showing the bleaching effect of the dung bath

Specimen 6. The cloth after the indigo-bath

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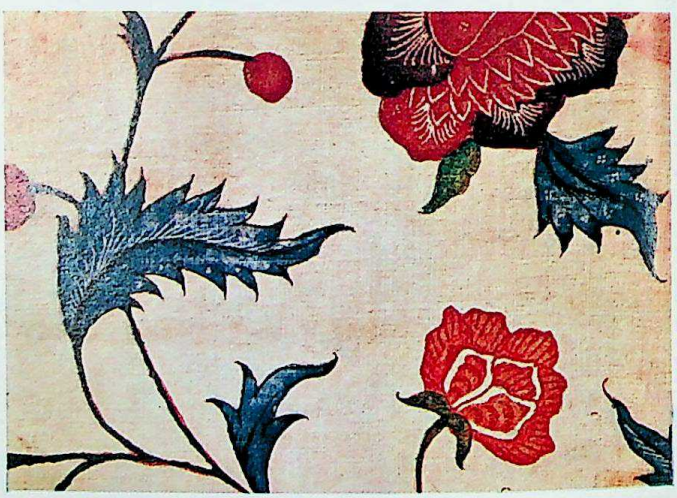
Specimen 7. Showing hatchings of aluminium mordant prior to second maddering

Specimen 10. Showing the bleaching effect of second dung bath

Specimen 8. Shows further painting with diluted mordants and mixtures of red mordant and curcuma to produce other colours



Specimen 11. Shows the finished cloth, green having been produced by the overpainting of blue with yellow

Specimen 9. After second maddering, which had engendered new colours

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Next he washed the cloth in clear rice-water, dried it, and when it was dry beat it against a tree-trunk, as has already been described.

He then traced with molten wax all the tiny lines that were to remain white on the blue part of the flowers. For the purpose he used a specially prepared iron pen, one part of which is covered with a piece of cloth.[17] When he had finished this the fourth piece was cut off (plate A, specimen no. 4).

5

Il s'est ensuite servi de la même plume pour border avec de la cire fondue tout le dessin et avec un pinceau il a couvert de la même cire le fond de la toile et tout ce qui ne doit être ni bleu ni vert dans l'ouvrage ainsi qu'on le voit no. 5

Il ne s'est point servi de pinceau mais une espèce de bouchon de toile ajusté au bout d'un petit báton.[18]

He used the same pen to outline the whole drawing with molten wax, and then, using the same wax and a pencil covered the whole ground of the cloth and all the parts that were not to be either blue or green, as we can see in no. 5 (plate A).

He did not use a brush but a kind of wad of cloth fitted to the end of a small stick. [18]

6

Il a plié la toile en plis de 4 pouces ou environ et après l' avoir un peu pressée il l'a trempée plusieurs fois de suite dans une jarre de liqueur propre à teindre en bleu, et ayant étendu la toile il a appliqué de cette liqueur sur les endroits qu'il a jugé n'en avoir pas assez pris, ensuite il a étendu la toile à l'ombre pour la faire sécher.

Il a enlevé la cire sur la toile en la plongeant plusieurs fois dans l'eau chaude et changeant l'eau de temps en temps. La cire étant détachée il a donné à la toile 3 lessives avec l'eau et la fiente de cabri et l'exposant tous les jours au soleil en l' arrosant comme il a été dit dans l'article de la 3ème préparation. Il l'a ensuite fait sécher et en a coupé le 6ème morceau.[19]

He folded the cloth into pleats of about 4 inches and after pressing it lightly dipped it several times in succession into a jar of liquid blue dye; and after spreading out the cloth he applied the liquid to the parts that in his opinion had not taken sufficiently; next he spread out the cloth in the shade and let it dry.

He removed the wax by immersing the cloth several times in hot water, changing the water from time to time. When the wax had been removed he washed the cloth three times in water mixed with kid-dung, exposing it to the sun each day and sprinkling it in the manner described for the 3rd stage of the preparation. He next dried it out and cut the 6th piece (plate A).[19]

7

Il a trempé pendant une demie heure la toile dans un pot d'eau mêlée avec un peu de lait de buffle et l'ayant fait sécher il l'a battue sur un tronc d'arbre.

Pour panacher les fleurs il a tiré de petits traits dont ceux qui doivent être blancs ont été faits avec de la cire fondue, ceux qui doivent être rouges avec de la liqueur faite avec le bois de Japon et ceux qui doivent être bleus ou verts d'abord avec du Chouris et ensuite avec de la liqueur propre à teindre en bleu.

C'est alors qu'on a coupé le 7éme morceau.

Il n'y a point dans ce dessin de ces traits bleus ou verts.[20]

He soaked the cloth for half an hour in a bowl of water mixed with a little buffalo milk, and after he had dried it he beat it against a tree-trunk.

To streak the flowers with different colours he drew small lines, the ones to be white were done with molten wax, the ones to be red with liquor made from Sapan wood and the ones to be blue or green first with Chouris and then with liquid blue dye.

At that point the 7th piece was cut (plate B).

This drawing shows no traces of blue or green.[20]

8

Il mit dans 8 serres d'eau une once un gros d'alun, même quantité de Terra merita qu'il avait détrempé auparavant et passé sur la pierre et l'ayant laissé infuser pendant une nuit, il a enduit avec cette liqueur tout ce qui doit être d'un rouge jaunâtre ou jaune. Il a mêlé une serre de la liqueur faite avec les pierres vitrioliques dans 10 serres de Cange aigre (c'est de l'eau de riz qu'on a laissée 10 jours à l'air). Ayant laissé reposer ce mélange durant une nuit il s'en est servi pour enduire les endroits que l'on voit bruns dans le 8ème morceau, il a lavé la toile et l'a fait sécher.[21] *C'est alors qu'on a coupé le 8ème morceau ci-contre.*

He put $1\frac{1}{8}$ ounce of alum into 8 sers of water, an equal quantity of *Terra merita* which he had previously diluted and reduced on a stone, and after leaving it overnight he covered all the parts that were to be yellowish red or yellow with the liquor. He mixed one ser of liquor made from vitriolic stones with 10 sers of acid Congee (i.e. rice-water that has been exposed to the air for 10 days). After allowing the liquid to settle overnight he used it to cover the parts which appear brown on the 8th piece, he washed the cloth and allowed it to dry.[21] At that point the 8th piece attached here (plate B) was cut.

9

Il a mis 4 livres de Raye de Chaye dans 4 pots d'eau après l' avoir bien pulvérisée et y ayant mis la toile il l'a fait bouillir a très petit feu pendant 4 heures ayant attention de remuer la toile qu'il a laissée dans le vase jusqu'à ce que la liqueur ait été refroidie, alors il l'a retirée et l'ayant exprimée il l'a fait sécher.

Il l'a ensuite lavée, de nouveau fait sécher et comme il y avait des taches en divers endroits il les a otées avec du citron ou avec du fruit de Jambelon.[22]

On a alors coupé le 9ème morceau.

He put 4 livres of well-pulverised chay-root into 4 potfuls of water, and when the cloth had been steeped in it he boiled it over a low fire for 4 hours, taking care to stir the cloth, and then left it in the vessel until the liquid was cold; then he removed it, squeezed it out and dried it.

He then washed it, dried it again, and as there were a few stains he removed these with lemon or the fruit of Jambelon.[22] (*Eugenia Jambolana, Lam.*, commonly known as the 'black plum'.)

The 9th piece was then cut.

[18] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'He (the workman) used a cotton pad for this last operation which we have just described. I also have a piece of cloth in this state: it is entirely covered with wax that seems brown or very dark whitish blue. This wax is blue because the workmen continue using it as long as possible for the sake of economy. The first time they use it it is as white as ours'.

[19] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'M. de Beaulieu had a sixth piece cut off. The white ground is not very bright, the stalks of the leaves that had been left uncovered are blue; the rest is unchanged because the wax had protected it. On some parts of the ground, however, blue spots are visible, caused by the cracking of small particles of the molten wax, or else because it had not been supplied with sufficient care.'

[20] This part of the text is incomprehensible. Technically, it is impossible to set blue or green lines in the design if the method described here is employed, and there must be some confusion either in the original manuscript or in the copying. The version given by Quérelles, which is undoubtedly the correct one, is as follows: 'It was only a question of streaking with a lighter red the flowers that were to be yellow and those that were to be violet with white; he drew little lines or hatchings with a solution of alum and Sapan wood to colour the former, and with molten wax to colour the latter. M. de Beaulieu then cut the seventh piece, which differs only from the preceding one by those little hatchings.'

[21] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'A piece was cut off the cloth: and in this state the parts to be violet are grey-brown, and those that are to be orange are yellow.' It would no doubt be possible to use the acid congee instead of mirabolans for the first preparation of the cloth (see Section I).

[22] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: "Then the ninth piece was cut, the ground is very like paper that has acquired a reddish tinge from exposure; the red is far finer than it had been before or than it was to remain, and the parts to be violet are coffee coloured.'

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10

Il a lavé la toile dans l'eau de fiente de cabri 3 jours consécutifs comme il a été dans la préparation du 3ème morceau et pour emporter toute la couleur roussâtre qu'elle avait contractée dans la Raye de Chaye, et ensuite il l'a lavée et frottée plusieurs fois dans une eau de savon tiède puis dans de l'eau fraiche et l'a fait sécher.[23]

La 10ème morceau fait voir dans quel état la toile était alors.

He washed the cloth in water mixed with kid-dung for three consecutive days after the manner described for the preparation of the 3rd piece, so as to get rid of the rusty colour it had acquired from the chay-root. Next he washed it and rubbed it several times in luke-warm soapy water and then in fresh water and finally allowed it to dry.[23]

The 10th piece shows the condition of the cloth at that stage (plate B).

11

Il a lavé la toile dans un pot d'eau mêlé avec un pot de lait de buffle et l'a fait sécher. Il a pulvérisé 8 onces de fleurs de Cadouca et 1 once de grains de mirabolans qu'il a mis tremper pendant 16 heures dans 8 serres d'eau. Ensuite il a jeté dans cette composition 2 onces de Raye de Chaye pulvérisée. Il a fait chauffer cette composition jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait été prête à bouillir et en ayant enduit tout ce qui doit être vert ou jaune, il l'a étendue pour la faire sécher. Il a mis dans 6 pots d'eau 2 livres de fiente de cabri, 2 livres de Chaouroux (c'est un sable terreux et salé qui se trouve sur les bords de la mer) et 1 livre de avon en fort petits morceaux et ayant brouillé cette eau avec un bâton pendant une demie heure il l'a laissé reposer pendant 2 heures.

Il a vidé dans un autre vase ce qu'il y avait de clair de cette eau et le lendemain il a lavé la toile dans cette eau claire, il l'a exprimée ensuite et l'a étendue sur le bord d'un étang de l'eau duquel il l'arrosait de temps en temps, le soir il l'a battue sur une pierre et le lendemain il l'a fait sécher[24] *et la toile est devenue comme on le voit dans l'onzième morceau ci-contre.*

He washed the cloth in a solution composed of one potful of water and one of buffalo milk and allowed it to dry. He ground up 8 ounces of Cadouca and 1 ounce of grains of mirabolans which he left to soak for 16 hours in 8 sers of water. Next he added 2 ounces of pulverised chay-root. He heated the mixture to just below boiling point and with it covered all the parts that were to be green or yellow, and spread out the cloth to dry. He put 2 livres of kid-dung, 2 livres of Chaouroux (this is a salty, earthy sand found on the sea-shore) and 1 livre of soap cut up into very small pieces into 6 potfuls of water and stirred it with a stick for half an hour, after which he let it settle for two hours.

He strained off the clear water into another vessel and next morning washed the cloth in it, then he squeezed it out and spread it on the edge of a pool, sprinkling it from time to time with water from this pool. In the evening he beat it against a stone, and the next morning dried it,[24] after which the cloth appeared as we see it in the 11th piece (plate B).

The manuscript transcribed above is not (as we have already mentioned) in Du Fay's handwriting. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that it is in Beaulieu's. It must therefore be the work of a copyist reproducing a text the author of which it is difficult to determine with certainty. To judge from the notes with which it is elaborated, it could represent a first brief résumé made by Du Fay on the observations of his envoy, Beaulieu. As a matter of fact there is, or there must have been, a second more complete version—the one that Du Fay passed on to Quérelles and which the latter mentions in his treatise of 1760. There the error already noted in the 7th operation is rectified. Only the original notes of Beaulieu could explain how it came about.

The operations described by Beaulieu can be summed up schematically as follows:

The raw cloth is first of all half-bleached and prepared with a fatty aqueous solution containing an astringent. In this way, on the one hand, the mordants are prevented from running on the cloth and on the other, the subsequent development of the colours they engender is assisted during the maddering operation.

The iron mordant is prepared from a natural produce which contains the metal and which is immersed in palm wine which has turned sour. The alum represents the aluminium mordant. These two liquids are applied to the lines of the drawing which had first been pounced on the cloth with crushed charcoal. The iron mordant turns black on contact with the astringent with which the cloth was impregnated. The aluminium mordant, for its part, is lightly tinted red with a concoction of tinctorial wood, so that the workman can follow his work.

The next step is the use of madder-dye, the function of which is to blacken the lines already black, and to develop the reds. Then the cloth is immersed in a dung-bath to remove the temporary red of the ground produced by the madder on parts where mordant had not been applied, and to remove the astringent harmful for the blue (plate A, no.3).

The whole cloth is then covered with wax, except for the places which must be blue, and immersed in a vat of indigo, and after that the wax is removed in a bath of hot water (plate A, no.6).

The lines that are to remain white are traced on the flowers with molten wax and (without, it seems, using any more astringent) everything that is to be red is painted with red mordant, and the places where other colours are to be painted with diluted mordants and mixtures of red mordant and Curcuma. A second dyeing follows, more concentrated than the first, which produces the final colours and once again the reddish colour of the ground left by the dye is removed with dung.

A yellow colour is next made from vegetable dye-stuffs. When painted on top of blue it produces green.

The whole thing is washed again and the process is terminated.

If we compare the process described above by Beaulieu with the account by the Jesuit Father Coeurdoux, significant differences become apparent: Beaulieu's workman treats the cloth with an aqueous solution of fat and astringent, mordants the lines of the drawing, makes a first maddering, then goes on with the indigo resist-dyeing, mordants after this the areas of the drawing, and makes a second maddering. Coeurdoux's workman, on the other hand, after the same first treatment of the cloth and mordanting of the lines of the drawing, goes on with the blue vat, renews after this the treatment with fat and astringent, mordants the areas of the design, and terminates with a single madder-bath. This method is rather puzzling: if the lines painted in black and red mordants have not been dyed with madder before the vigorous washing that precedes the indigo-dyeing (which would have the effect of removing the astringent), then the black should become considerably weaker and the red disappear altogether; the original work would then have to be repeated, as the drawing would no longer be visible as far as the red parts are concerned. In this connection it is interesting to note that at a comparatively recent date an Indian specialist in painted cottons still used a method similar to the one described by Beaulieu and not the other; he, too, used madder twice, once for the lines of the drawing and once for the surfaces, but *successfully*, the blue coming last and in this way not being sandwiched between the two madder baths.[25] The moment selected for the blue vat must, generally speaking, be unimportant. All that we can say is that if the wax-

[23] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles: 'This treatment brightens all the colours as can be seen in the piece that M. de Beaulieu then cut off, and the ground shows only a faint sulphur yellow.'

[24] Du Fay commented according to Quérelles:' This completes the process and nothing remains but to add lustre to the surface of the cloth (here follows the description of the process) ... The cloth we have just been describing is one that involves the longest treatment because it contains all the colours, and it was for that very reason that M. de Beaulieu chose it in preference to others which would only have shown the preparation of two or three colours'.

[25] W.S. Hadaway, *Cotton painting and printing in the Madras presidency*, Madras, 1917.

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resist should crack, thus allowing the indigo to run where it is not required, the damage resulting is perhaps less serious if the blue runs into the white rather than into the parts already coloured.

Could Father Coeurdoux, excellent observer though he was (at that time aged fifty-one), have forgotten to describe one operation? This may seem unlikely, but we cannot entirely discount the idea of an omission, because at the very beginning, when it is a question of preparing the cloth, he tells us to take buffalo milk to which an astringent has been added, without mentioning a preliminary soaking in a dilute aqueous astringent solution; but later, referring to what he said 'at the beginning', he speaks of the *two* baths described. A whole operation had thus been frankly omitted.[26]

Whatever the case may be, it seems obvious that depending on the skill of the workman and his customary methods, the good or bad quality of the water available, and of the ingredients used, and the kind of painting desired, the doses, the number of operations and their order of sequence would be bound to differ considerably from one painter to another in the same district, and also from region to region. We can therefore hardly go beyond the observation that at a certain date in a certain part of India a certain investigator saw a piece of cloth made in a certain way – after which all generalisations must be avoided.

Every attempt has been made to discover the quantities used by both Beaulieu and Coeurdoux, but this has failed owing to extreme inaccuracy of the weights and measures given. Is the '*ounce*', for instance, the French *poids de marc*, and the '*pinte*' that of Paris? What constitutes a 'potful'? What does a bucket of water, or a bottle, correspond to in Pondicherry in 1742? Does the 'ser' really measure 0·98952 litres – or more correctly 417·393cm, the contents of a cylinder three French inches (of 2·7cm) in diameter and of the same depth? Did the Indian palam at that time weigh (in *poids de marc*) 1oz plus $\frac{1}{2}$, or plus $\frac{1}{7}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$? Was the aune the Paris one of 1·188m? Does the cubit correspond to 48, 68 or 105cm?

All that can be said for certain can be summed up in the following two statements:

1. Beaulieu took a piece of cloth 6 aunes long; after each operation he cut off $\frac{1}{2}$ an aune of the cloth; for the 11th and last operation he was thus left with only 1 *aune* to dye. Four pounds (assuming the *poids de marc* at 489·5 g) of Indian madder seem to us excessive for that amount of cloth, seeing that at Basle in 1766 Jean Ryhiner reckoned $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of European madder for each length of $\frac{15}{16}$ Paris *aunes*, and twice as much for the coloured grounds (which is not the case here). Unless the observer was mistaken, it would thus seem that the workman had been wasteful, for in all probability he was keeping to his customary formula.
2. Practically speaking, there is no agreement between the figures of Beaulieu and those of Coeurdoux, though this might be explained in part by the differences in size of the raw cloth that had been selected for painting,[27] and in the kind of the colouring wanted.

To these observations a third of a different character must be added. Neither Beaulieu nor Coeurdoux make any allusion to the thickening of mordants and their application by block-printing, as customary in Europe. The hand of the workman alone did the work, either with pen, brush or pad. It is, however, known from an article published in the *Journal oeconomique* (Paris) in July, 1752, that when skilled craftsmen were scarce in India, a hollow mould was used filled with a kind of fatty ink to trace the contours of the design (the mordants, it appears, were always painted by hand).

Was it customary in India in bygone centuries to *print* mordants as well as to paint them on cloth – a process which would have necessitated, first the thickening, and then the subsequent elimination of the thickening matter used? So far no convincing evidence seems to have been published on this subject. On the other hand, the application of wax-resist material by means of blocks (a much more simple operation) seems likely to have been practised.[28, 29]

Finally, to conclude this comparison on texts, it may be pointed out that whereas Father Coeurdoux explained at length how the blue vat was mounted, Beaulieu is silent on this subject. The explanation is to be found in the aforementioned treatise by Quérelles (of 1760), in which the author writes: 'I shall describe in a few words what I learnt (about blue dye) from the memorandum of M. de Beaulieu, who had it executed in his presence with the success expected ... This is the way the blue is prepared at Mazulipatan, a different method is used at Pondicherry which was also demonstrated to M. de Beaulieu and accurately described by him ... M. Lefevre, to whom I gave M. de Beaulieu's memorandum, has since tried it out ...' A second work edited by Beaulieu (who, moreover, does not appear to have confined himself to investigations in Pondicherry) must therefore exist (or have existed), devoted entirely to indigo-dyeing. There is no knowing where it may now lie mouldering.

Analyst's report on Beaulieu cloth samples

The samples of cloth contained in the Beaulieu MS. and reproduced here (plates A–B) are entirely of cotton, Z-spun, with considerable variations in the diameter of thread. The weave is close, 70 threads per inch in one direction, 90 in the other. From the nature of the samples and the way they were cut, it was not clear which were warps and which wefts.

[26] Beaulieu, who did not live in Pondicherry, had chosen the method consisting in having a painted cotton fabricated before his eyes. On the contrary the Father, who stayed in the town, merely questioned painters he had converted to Catholicism. This explains that errors could be made in the description of the succession of the operations.

[27] The above note gives the measurements of Beaulieu's cloth, ie. 6 aunes. Father Coeurdoux (who does not mention having preserved samples) took a piece of '9 coudées', literally '9 elbow lengths', which he says was 'the most usual size'. Now there are *coudées*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ of which correspond to one Paris aune, which is about 48cm and others, used in India of about 68 and 105cm which would give lengths of 4·30, 6·30 and 9·40m. Once again we see the difficulties involved when we try to fix measurements based on such vague terms as *coudée* or *aune*, which only make sense when dealing with the more distant past when the provenance of the term is added. In the above connection, I have received the following note from Mr John Irwin based on the evidence provided by contemporary English East India Company records: 'There is ample evidence in the English records to show that on the Coromandel Coast, there were three standard kinds of calico especially in favour for chintz making. In order of importance they were *percallas*, *morees* and *salempores*. *Percallas* were usually very superior and reserved for the finest chintz, the dimensions being about 8 × 1 English yards. *Morees* were usually 9 × $1\frac{1}{2}$ English yards, and *Salempores* 16 × 1 English yards.'

[28] Cf. *Bulletin of the Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Mulhouse, France, no.1, 1952, p.14; no.2, 1953, p.70, (n.2) and p.76, (n.16).

[29] It is of interest to note certain differences between the *batik* and the chintz.

In the case of chintz, the cloth on which the mordants have been applied is *boiled* in the chayroot (*oldenlandia umbellata*) bath, where the reds, violets, browns, etc. appear simultaneously.

In *batik*, the cloth is first prepared with an infusion made of ashes and oil (generally castor-oil), then provided on both sides with the wax resists and the dyeing is done *cold* the cloth being rubbed during weeks with menakoudou (*morinda citrifolia*) mixed with djirak (*symplocos fasciculata*, which contains alum). The characteristic brown colour is obtained with soga (*peltophorum pterocarpum*), which contains iron according to another Latin name peltophorum ferrugineum Benth. in a cold or tepid bath (observations divert). The dyers use many other ingredients, sometimes kept secret, so that it is difficult to determine wherefrom the mordant comes. The final treatment is a passage in lime water (not mentioned for the red, the calcium coming here most probably in sufficient quantity from the water used).

We know from French reports of 1746 and 1758 that oiling was also practised in India, but the descriptions refer only to *plain* dyeing of yarn or cloth, in a boiling bath.

In the present state of research it is therefore not possible to tell how the paintings mentioned in the Surat letter of 1634 (Archives of the East India Company) and based on a resist proceeding, were really fabricated. The blue, of course, is obtained in the same way, by resist, in both *batik* and chintz.

As soga does not seem to appear in India the dyeing with this vegetable must be something particular to Indonesia.

I have already made an allusion to this *batik* problem in fn.8, page 16 of my study *Les toiles peintes indiennes* (Bull. SIM IV/1962).

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Appendix 'B'

Father Coeurdoux's letters on the technique of Indian cotton-painting, 1742 and 1747*

Introduced and with a commentary by P.R. Schwartz

The Beaulieu MS. of 1734, which is presented and discussed at Appendix 'A' of this publication, owed its special importance not only to the fact that it was the earliest known account of traditional Indian methods of cotton-painting, but also because there are preserved with it eleven original sample fabrics illustrating stages of the process. The special value of the Coeurdoux letters of the following decade derives chiefly from their fuller description of detail.

Father Gaston Laurent Coeurdoux was born in Bourges on 18th October, 1691. He joined the Company of Jesus as a novice in 1715; left for Madura (India) in 1732, and served as missionary at Pondicherry. In 1740 he became Superior at Karikal; in 1745, Procurator at Pondicherry; in 1747, Superior-General at Pondicherry. In 1751 he was replaced by Father Lavaud and became again simple missionary at Pondicherry, where he died in 1779, 'versed in Tamil and Telugu'.

The first of his two letters on Indian cotton-painting was dated 18th January, 1742, 'aux Indes Orientales' and addressed to Father du Halde of the same mission, resident in Paris. It was first published in the 26th collection of 'Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionaires de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, MDCCXLII.' Father du Halde, in offering this new collection, states that 'this book is suitable to amuse and edify in piety [sic].' Permission for publication given by the Father Superior dates from 7th April, 1743, approval of the Sorbonne from 24th April following. Cotton-printing was strictly prohibited in France at that time (the ban was not lifted until 1759), which makes it the more surprising that illegal methods of manufacture should have concurrently been made public. Father Coeurdoux drew his knowledge from 'various neophytes skilful in this sort of work on whom I recently conferred baptism'.

It was explained in the previous article that as early as 1766 an eminent Basle cotton-printer had studied the letter and commented on it in a MS. which was not actually published until nearly a century later (1865). No trace of a similar analysis by any other European manufacturer of the eighteenth century is known,[1] and there is no indication what influence this work may have had on European cotton-printing as practised in 1743. But the report by the Jesuit Father was scrutinised very carefully by the celebrated English chemist Edward Bancroft (1744–1821) in his book entitled *Experimental researches concerning the philosophy of permanent colours*, London, 1794 (2nd edn., 1813).

It was in England again (though very much later) that a nearly complete translation of this letter was to be made by G.P. Baker in his monumental work, *Calico painting and printing in the East Indies in the 17th and 18th centuries*, London, 1921. The translation is accompanied by many remarks, one of which tells us that the letter was not published until thirty years after it had been written. This error was probably due to the fact that, to judge from his reference, the translator did not have before him the edition of 1743, but volume XIV of a new edition published in 1781.

In Holland the letter was partly reproduced in French, with important notes, in the fundamental work by Rouffaer and Juynboll, *Die Indische Batikkunst* (German and Dutch texts Haarlem, no date, prefaced in 1899). A complete reproduction of the original text was scheduled to appear in a supplement which was never published.

The oldest German translation of the celebrated Letter may well be one that I discovered by chance in the 'Magazin für Farber, Zeugdrucker and Bleicher', edited by D. Friedrich Hermbstädt, vol.2, 2nd edn., Berlin, 1811, under the following title: *Beschreibung der Art and Weise wie die indianischen Kattune oder Zize, in Indien gemahlt werden. Nach Savary's Angabe (mit Bemerkungen vom Herausgeber).*[2] Strange to say, the name of Coeurdoux does not appear at all, although it gives the full text of his letter. As for Savary, this evidently refers to one of the editions later than 1743 of the dictionary of commerce of that name which was translated into German (1755?), and probably English too. The most complete edition

* This paper was first published in the *Journal of Indian Textile History* no.3, Ahmedabad, India, 1957.

[1] In 1768 a book was published in Paris under the title *Mémoires géographiques, physiques et historiques ... tirés des lettres édifiantes et des voyages des missionnaires jésuites par l'Auteur des mélanges intéressants et curieux.* (The author was Jacques Philibert Rousselot de Surgy.) The work is a sort of 'digest' of the letters written by the Jesuit fathers, and the first volume reproduces very largely the well-known Coeurdoux-Poivre-Paradis reports. They are followed by 'Observations' made by Mr Bourdier, physician, who lived in Pondicherry and on the Coromandel Coast from 1754 to 1765. This doctor, says the author, examined particularly the various proceedings concerning the preparation and the dyeing of cottons in the East Indies as related by the Jesuit missionaries, and was kind enough to communicate his remarks. Truly spoken, they are rather deceiving. Here are three comments worth picking out: (1) Father Coeurdoux omitted to say that when the Indians decided to paint cottons they took the cloth from the weaver after a first bleaching and wore it against their naked skin; everybody was compelled to do so, and thus a whole family was clad in cottons destined to be painted. After 8 to 10 days the cloth was washed and treated with myrobolan and milk in the well-known way. (2) The cadoucaipou (an excrescence caused by the sting of an insect) is called by the Europeans 'fleur de mirobolan', myrobolan flower, and this explains the errors made by some historians of cotton painting on the subject. (3) The chayroot produces a good red only in so far as it is growing on certain sandy grounds containing many broken or rotten shells. The doctor adds that he had already remarked in France that the *gallium album vulgare*, which has also a red-dye-producing root gave always better results when picked on old walls or rubbish. The necessity of calcium for the formation of the red lac on the fibre was of course not evident in India at that time (see fn.12), but the virtue of some soils or waters had certainly been discovered a long time ago.

A medical thesis by Claude Bourdier de la Moulière, dated November, 1743, is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is not impossible that this Bourdier and the above-mentioned are identical.

[2] The Hermbstädt translation appeared already in the first edition of vol.2 of his Magazine, the date of which I do not know. It was reproduced slightly shortened, in the following work, chapter 99, published in Erfurt in 1809: Georg Wilhelm Holterhoff's *Kunst und Schönfarbers vollständiges praktisches Handbuch der Kunstfärberei, Zweiter Band Enthaltend die Färbung der Seide un seidenen Zeuge.* The publisher says that although this volume deals only with silk, the reader will be glad to know how painted cottons were made in India; he thinks it possible that the improvement of the described proceedings will be left to the German cleverness. It is pleasant to notice that Coeurdoux's letter (his name is not mentioned) was published already in 1743, had been reproduced at least three times in French publications of the eighteenth century, and largely commented in English by Bancroft in 1794. This ignorance is rather curious, coming from specialists in dyeing.

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– the Copenhagen one of 1759–65 – refers in the article under '*Toiles*' to the *mémoire du P. Coeurdoux, in the* 20e (?) *Recueil des lettres édifiantes*. This fact does not explain Hermbstädt's omission of Coeurdoux's name. Savary was perhaps more explicit elsewhere. As a matter of fact research in dictionaries is often an arduous task – for example, there is no mention of cotton in the *Dictionnaire portatif des arts et métiers*, published in Paris, 1766, although the picking, ginning, carding, spinning and weaving of cotton is accurately described in the article on muslin.

Father Coeurdoux was the author of a second letter to which allusion is sometimes made in specialised works (eg. the ones quoted above by G.P.Baker and Rouffaer and Juynboll). We must discuss it here because it gives a useful description of a name – that of 'Fleurs de Cadou' – employed in the first letter. This substance is used for yellow colour, and in 1766 Jean Ryhiner noted that 'we have no exact knowledge of cadou, in particular of the following kind'. Now in his second letter, the one written on 22nd December, 1747, from Pondicherry, and published in the 27th collection of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* of 1749, Father Coeurdoux writes (p.434): 'I must not omit here a further product of the Cadou tree which is called Cadoucaipou, that is to say the flower of Cadoucaie – although it is anything but its flower. It is a kind of dried fruit ... this type of nut is found on the leaves of the Cadou itself and is produced in the same way as Gall nuts and some other similar excrescences' (seven pages follow on painting and dyeing yellow in Pondicherry using Cadoucaipou).[3] This passage, which seems so far to have escaped the various commentators, for they speak of flowers of cadou as if it were a question of real flowers, is transcribed here because of the supplementary information it gives.

In his letter of 22nd December, 1747, Father Coeurdoux says further: 'I do not know whether the letter I wrote in 1742 on painted cottons in India can prove of any assistance in perfecting the art of dyeing in Europe: that at least was the aim I had in mind. Since then I have tried here to arouse the fancy of some persons able to improve on what I said on these matters and to add some new and useful knowledge. Among others I applied to M. Le Poivre[4] late of the Foreign Missions, whom the misfortunes of war had brought to Pondicherry in 1746. A bullet had carried off his right arm; but in his left one he found the whole of that ability for painting which he was apparently to lose in consequence of such sad accident. As soon as he was in this city, he became acquainted with what I had written on cotton painting, and, having undertaken to put it into practice, he succeeded in doing so. [This passage shows that Father Coeurdoux's first letter also came from Pondicherry. – P.R.S.] I then urged him to set down in writing his considerations and remarks, whether they were consistent with mine or opposed to them ... my entreaties have at least produced the letter I am forwarding you.' This very interesting document is also published in the above-quoted 27th Collection with an important commentary added by Father Coeurdoux which begins as follows: 'This letter gave me the opportunity of making some experiments and gave me some new ideas which may be of interest. Here they are ... [lack of space unfortunately prevents us from studying them here].' He finishes with these lines: 'M. Le Poivre painted a chay-plant from nature, which I have the honour of sending you, it seems to me that this, too, in addition to his letter may prove of interest to the curious.' The 27th Collection contains a very beautiful engraving of this Indian madder-plant which is certainly a reproduction of Le Poivre's painting. There is every reason to suppose that it has remained almost unknown.

Neither of the two authors mentioned makes any allusion to Beaulieu's stay at Pondicherry or to his successful investigations made before 1739. Father Coeurdoux, however, in this letter of 1742 feels constrained to say: 'I do not know whether I shall prove more fortunate than others before me in this direction. As, however, they would not be conversant with the native tongue, indispensable for dealing with the painters, nor accustomed to their ways, and since their very condition must give rise to a certain mistrust in these timid natives, I doubt whether they could have successfully carried out the orders imparted in this matter.' This text shows that there must have been considerable interest in France in Indian methods of cotton-painting.[5] Who were the investigators to whom the good father was referring with some severity? Why did 'their very condition give rise to a certain mistrust' among the 'natives'? Could it perhaps be a reference to Beaulieu? Unless unexpected information is forthcoming, such questions must remain unanswered.

As for Le Poivre, even less well-informed, he expresses himself as follows in his letter of 1747 to Father Coeurdoux: 'These are, Reverend Father, all the observations I could submit on the way the Indians paint their cloths in Pondicherry; if you consider them appropriate, they may help the purpose you have in bringing to Europe the secret of the Indies. It is surprising that, so far, there should not have been in this country any European interested in the matter, endeavouring to enrich his own country with an art from which so much advantage could be drawn.'

[3] Both de Beaulieu and Coeurdoux mention only a vegetable yellow, but it appears that another yellow was also used in India. I discovered this fact whilst studying in 1965 the painted and printed cottons made by Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon (1692–1740) in his Chantilly castle. He was Prime-Minister of king Louis XV of France from 1723 to 1726, and during these years ordered and got reports (now probably lost) concerning the fabrication of painted cottons in India. Exiled for political reasons on his estates, he created in his Chantilly castle, near Paris, a well-known China manufacture working for the public, and also, but only for his own pleasure and that of his friends, a workshop where cottons were painted and printed (this industry being at that time still severely prohibited in France). The library of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris owns an undated and anonymous MS. describing the manner employed in Chantilly by the duke for painting cottons. For the yellow the following informations are given: the yellow in India is made with the iron mordant, but a better one is obtained from Avignon berries. If you want a green like the Indian one, that is a brownish green, put on the blue, with a brush, the iron liquor used for the black. The MS. calls this green 'vilain' (ugly) A chemical analysis of the greens and yellows of old Indian cottons could most probably show the presence of iron in these colours if this mordant which has a yellowish tint, has been employed.

[4] Pierre Poivre (1719–86), missionary and traveller, studied during four years botany, natural history, proceedings of arts and manufacturer drawing, painting, etc. ... At the age of twenty he left for China and Cochin-china. When returning to France his ship was attacked by the English in the Banca Straits (5.2.1745), he lost an arm, was taken prisoner and sent back to Pondicherry, where he stayed for a certain time. (Extensive biography by de Gerando in *Biographie ancienne et moderne*, vol.35, Paris 1823.)

[5] Especial interest was also shown in the manner of dyeing cotton cloths red. In a letter of 13th October, 1748, from Pondicherry Father Coeurdoux transcribes with commentaries a memoir of 'the late Monsieur Paradis on various methods of dyeing cloths red'. The latter notes different methods, the first consisting of an oil process and corresponding to the process known in Europe as Turkey red; the second is the same as that used for producing a fast red on painted cottons (astringent, alum, madder); the third is very imperfect, the madder being replaced by Sapan wood. This memoir is interesting, because in it the author describes the process of Turkey red applied to cotton *cloth*, whereas in other descriptions it is used only with reference to the dyeing of cotton *yarn* in India.

There we also find detailed studies on the hard water used by Indian dyers and painters, which seems to have been almost completely unknown to historians hitherto describing the manufacture of painted cottons. The authors are 'Monsieur Cayerefourg, surgeon-major at Pondicherry' and 'frère de Choisel', one of Father Coeurdoux's collaborators. In a letter of 22nd December, 1747, the Reverend Father expresses his intention of making known 'later on' the memorandum of M. Paradis. We saw above that in the following October he was already the 'late M. Paradis'. We may well believe that the work of this observer dates from about the same time that 'Turkey red' was said to have been introduced into France (1746–7), chiefly by Greek dyers established at Marseilles who worked on cotton yarn. The fact that it was first published in the 28th collection of *Lettres édifiantes* ... (printed only in 1758) must have robbed it of all interest for the specialists who would have known about it at that time. M. Paradis can probably be identified with the Paradis who was killed during the siege of Pondicherry on 13–9–1748 and whose career is described by A. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde Francaise*, vol.2, Paris, 1923.

As early as 1733 Du Fay had been asked to arrange the presentation of the memoirs of M. De la Croix, Commissioner-General of the Navy, to the Académie des Sciences. The subject-matter was apparently of interest to that institution (Arch. Nat. Marine, B2 292 (192), information supplied by M. Paul Leuillot, already cited). In view of the learned academician's speciality it may well have been a work on dyeing.

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As a matter of fact, from the end of the seventeenth century onwards, work had been proceeding in Europe in the 'Indian manner',[6] though it is true no account of the processes employed at that time, or from the time of their introduction, has come down to us. The (excusable) ignorance of the two authors in this respect was the fortunate cause of the two letters of 1742 and 1747 which form the most complete document we possess published on traditional Indian methods of cotton-painting. The fact that it lacks samples makes the subject of the present study – the Muséum MS. – all the more precious. Although more concise, it is true, it is furnished with eleven such samples.

The *Journal oeconomique*, already mentioned, published in its June, July, August and September numbers in 1756 a series of articles on dyeing in India, followed by a memorandum on the method of painting cottons in India. The editors of the *Journal* do not mention the name of the author, but they do tell us the manner in which they received the paper: 'A wise citizen of the town of Amiens brought to light the memoirs of one of his friends containing everything he had seen and even had had demonstrated to him.' Everything that deals with the actual dyeing of cotton yarn, in red, blue, yellow, green and black seems to be the result of personal observation on the spot, the process known in Europe under the general name of Turkey red in particular being very accurately described. There are also indications of price and quality.[7] The description of the manufacture of painted cottons on the other hand raises a very curious problem as to the origin of the text. The author states that he had a painter come to his house, but as the time was already the end of October the work was often interrupted by the rains. Frequent absences on the part of the workman also caused much loss of time as a result of which 'I could not have all the colours I wanted done'. If we compare the texts of the *Journal oeconomique* with the Muséum manuscript we cannot fail to be struck by an astonishing similarity, suggesting either a copy or a common origin – unless we accept the fact that the same operation can produce quite naturally in two different narrators an identical style.

Here is a particularly instructive example to be noted in this connection:

Anonymous text

Il plia la toile en plis de 4 pouces ou environ et après l'avoir un peu pressée il la trempa plusieurs fois de suite dans une jarre pleine de liqueur propre à teindre en bleu; puis ayant étendu la toile il appliqua de cette couleur sur les endroits qu'il jugea n'en avoir point assez. Ensuite il étendit la toile à l'ombre pour la faire sécher.

Beaulieu-Du Fay text

Il a plié la toile en plis de 4 pouces ou environ et après l'avoir un peu pressée il l'a trempée plusieurs fois de suite dans une jarre de liqueur propre à teindre en bleu et ayant étendu la toile il a appliqué de cette liqueur sur les endroits qu'il a jugé n'en avoir pas assez pris, ensuite il a étendu la toile à l'ombre pour la faire sécher.

But there is more to come: we saw that the 7th operation is described wrongly and incomprehensibly in the Beaulieu MS. in the Muséum. The same error recurs in the anonymous memorandum in the *Journal oeconomique* of August, 1756: 'To colour the flowers he drew little lines, those to be blue [?] were marked with molten wax, and those to be red [?] or green first with Chouris and then with liquid blue dye. All these lines will be found in the 7th piece.' We have an impression that here, as in the Beaulieu Ms., a sentence has been skipped. Moreover, the colours are wrongly given.

Like Quérelles' text, the anonymous text is sometimes augmented by passages which are not found in the Beaulieu MS. At the same time we do not always find the same technical terms in the three documents that we shall call here M(uséum), A(nonymous), Q(uérelles). Thus mirabolan only occurs in M; A and Q speak of cadouca (both words are found in Coeurdoux). A and Q mention a log of wood, whereas M says more precisely trunk of a Kakimaka tree (Coeurdoux says Indian acacia or a tree known as Porchi). We find in M vitriolic stones, and burnt stones in A and Q, the latter saying more precisely that they were vitriolic (Coeurdoux speaks of iron and iron dross). A is the only one to mention saffron, which is *terra merita* (alias Curcuma or Turmeric) to M and Q (Coeurdoux does not mention these two plants in his first letter). Q speaks only of lemon whereas M and A add the fruit of Jambelon (not mentioned by Coeurdoux).

M, A and Q all use the *ser* measurement. The last named states more precisely, in italics, that 'this is a measure with a capacity of 9 ounces of Gengely oil, which, without appreciable error, is the same weight as linseed oil'. Now A tells us in his work on dyeing yarn in India, which in the *Journal oeconomique* precedes the one on painted cottons, that 'the *ser* used to regulate the quantities of the liquids used is both a measure and a weight of about 9 oz'. Coeurdoux does not mention this volume in his letter of 18th January, 1742, on painted cottons, but defines it, and in a more lucid way than the two preceding authors, when he copies the Paradis memoir (see footnote no.5, p.43) in his letter of 13th October, 1748: 'the *ser* is a cubic measure with a diameter of 3 inches and of equal depth. The *ser* is also an Indian weight equivalent to 9 ozs.' By taking French inches at 2·7cm, we would get a cylinder at 8·1cm wide and 8·1cm high with a cubic content of 417·39cm. A history of India published in Paris in 1814 gives the *ser* as 0·98952 litres – that is, more than double the amount.

In the cases M, A and Q the workman took 6 aunes of cloth. A 'divides into 11 pieces the length I had had dyed', and M and Q both state that 11 pieces were successively cut from the whole (Coeurdoux did not take any patterns). But whereas A deems it necessary to say that he was 'unable to have work done in all the colours he would have liked', Q tells us that the process described is the longest because all the colours are used, and he seems to be right in this. Finally, the last difference, whereas M is silent on the question of lustre, this last operation is described by both A and Q in entirely different terms.

Did the anonymous author of the *Journal oeconomique* of 1756 (who seems actually to have been in India and to have understood dyeing[8]) simplify his work by frankly plagiarising Beaulieu-Du Fay? The similarities in the text are indeed puzzling. But so far we know nothing of this person, neither the date of his stay on the Coromandel Coast, the products he describes, nor of his possible relations – not to say identity – with Beaulieu.[9] One name might give us a hint: the anonymous author mentions incidentally, when speaking of indigo:

Jean Ryhiner, whose father, after an apprenticeship in Holland, had founded (c. 1716–17) at Basle the first printing factory in that town based on Indian processes, long before the reports of Coeurdoux, Le Poivre and Beaulieu, could only remark, after his analysis of the above documents, in 1766: 'Our theory and principles are almost the same as those of the Indians, but the latter have the advantages of possessing certain herbs which are more suitable for this method of manufacture; it would also seem that manpower is more readily available in that country because the use of painting instead of printing demands a greater degree of skill and is much slower, which means that even granted all things equal we could never adopt their methods, for we lack skilled craftsmen and could not keep the maintenance costs so low.'

[7] 'The tagrevéré seed, employed for the indigo vat, worth now 4 to 5 pagodes the bar, went in 1725 as high as 1 pagode the (French) pound' – that is more than 100 times more. This shows that the document could not have been written before this year. It is also said that the chayroot coming from the Northern part of the Coromandel Coast is much superior to that of the Southern. In Negapatam the price is 5 pagodes the bar of 480 (French) pounds, towards Paliacate it goes up to 10 to 40, that is 2 to 8 times more.

[8] Cf. *Bulletin of the Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Mulhouse, France, no.2, 1953, pp.64, 72 (n.4).

[9] The *Journal oeconomique* of September, 1756, ends the series of articles on the manufacture of painted cottons in India with the following observations: 'This was the Memoire we received on dyeing in India. We do not doubt that many of our readers have wearied of the countless details, almost always the same, and that it would seem possible to reduce them to a kind of system subject to general and particular rules. The reader, it is true, would have been more entertained [*sic*] but it would

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'M. Guillard, chief agent of the Company at Ayanaon,[10] some 40 leagues from Mazulipatam, where they make some very fine ones, sent me details of the production. On the Coromandel Coast, good quality indigo is used only for paintings and for some fine dyeing.'[11]

have been less instructive, and the author of the memorandum who is thinking only of our manufacture of dyed and painted cottons [these lines were written three years *before* the lifting of the ban in France – P.R.S.] made a careful choice of the method likely to be most helpful to the manufacturers of this kind of work. Moreover, it was much safer for him to describe simply the multiple operations than to risk giving false information and to be himself deceived if he attempted to establish a reasonable theory of what he had seen from people who never reason and merely work to a fixed routine. We can draw this conclusion from the information he gives in two passages in his memorandum, where he speaks of the character of the Indians ... although the author of the memorandum speaks only of countries he has seen, that is the Coromandel Coast ...' The editors did not deem it necessary to publish the name of the 'wise citizen of the town of Amiens' who had procured the memorandum for them, although they must certainly have known it. Perhaps this person himself withheld the name of the 'friend' whose work he had exhumed. What could have been the motive for so much discretion regarding a purely technical matter? We do not know. Perhaps, too, one must not take the *Journal oeconomique* too literally. Whatever the case may be, it doesn't appear possible to draw any accurate conclusion from the above lines as to the identification of the author with Beaulieu. We may add further that the anonymous author states that his painter began operations when 'we were already near the end of October'. But to judge from successive calls at Pondicherry of the vessels on which Beaulieu was serving (in so far as they are entered in the archives of the port of Lorient) this naval officer was not at Pondicherry at that time of the year, and the only long stay that he made seems to be the one lasting from 29th July to 27th September, 1734. If this is really so then the anonymous author cannot have been Beaulieu himself.

[10] Yanaon or Yanam, in the district of the same name, is 563 km north of Pondicherry, at the mouth of the Godavari, on the coast of modern Andhra State, and 27km from Coconada, a place well known for its cottons. This former French territory was returned to the Indian Union in 1954.

[11] We saw above that, according to Quérelles, Beaulieu too – in a memorandum that has unfortunately remained unknown – described among other things the method of preparing blue at Masulipatam. The text referring to that place, which is copied by Quérelles, is very similar to that of the anonymous author, nothing more; the quantities given on the other hand are exactly identical.

[12] Baneroft (op. cit., German translation of 1818, 2nd volume, commented by J.G. Dingler and W.H. von Kurrer) mentions (p.492), besides the *Letteres édifiantes*, vols.26 and 27, 'several handwritten reports by M. Dufay and M. de Rabée (the latter having at that time just come back to France from India)'. De Rabée is perhaps the same as 'un nommé de Rabec', mentioned by Martineau (op. cit.). According to Mlle Beauchesne, Archiviste de la marine à Lorient, Rabec left Chandernagor for France on the 'La Reine', 23–1–1755, travelling at his own expense with two servants, black and white. Further details are revealed about de Rabec in the *Mémoires des scavants étrangers* (ie. those outside the Académie), vol.IV, 1763, Correspondance de l'Académie, Memoires de mathématiques et de physique: M. de Rabec, a St Malo merchant coming from India handed over his 'Journal' to the abbé Mazéas, to be deposited at the Académie, which was conformable to the mémoires of Dufay. Rabec's Ms. may still exist and be discovered one day. Guillaume Mazéas, generally called abbot Mazéas (1712–76), member of the Royal Society in London, is the author of a well-known study of the proceeding employed in India for dyeing red, published in the 'Corps d'Observations de la Société d'Agriculture, de Commerce et des Arts, établie par les Etats de Bretagne, tome des années 1759–60'. He says that, after many trials, he became aware of the necessity of the presence of chalk in the madder bath, to obtain a fast red with the alum mordant, and thinks that the special waters looked for by the Indians must have contained this ingredient. It is well possible that he is thus the first observer to have mentioned, in a published memoir, the calcium problem, most important for the printing industry. In any case, this discovery can no more be attributed alone to the famous Alsatian manufacturer Haussmann of Logelach near Colmar (France) who came in 1776 to the same conclusions (for Haussmann and the doubts I expressed see *Bull. Soc. Ind. de Mulh.* IV/1962, 'Les Toiles peintes des Indes', p.15 fn.5).

Mazéas was not a printer himself and his study contains many errors. No allusion is made to the oiling process utilised for the production of the red called in France 'Indian' or 'Turkish'.

[13] It is possible that the Father wanted really to speak of the Malabar Coast, as elsewhere he quotes an informer who witnessed the *cadou* crop in the mountainous regions situated in the West of Pondicherry, near the Malabar Coast.

The anonymous author was therefore in contact with the Compagnie des Indes, the same Company for whom Beaulieu worked as naval officer. According to A. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde francaise*, vol.2, Paris, 1923, Guillard, already in Yanaon in 1727, went to the Masulipatam *comptoir* in 1738, and was in Pondicherry by 1742. He fought with Paradis at the siege of Pondicherry in 1748, and rose to be general treasurer of the company between 1754 and 1758.

For the moment, therefore, it is impossible to know whether Beaulieu's report – and his observations were made prior to 1735 – is an original report or whether the necessary information was supplied by a third party, who could well be the anonymous author of whom we have just spoken. But we might also wonder whether the latter did not quite simply plagiarise Beaulieu, or again whether these two persons did not have a common informant[12] – or even if Beaulieu is identical with the anonymous author!

The above remarks testify to the difficulties which beset the student when seeking to establish the priority of an old text dealing with a technical process. A last example will show also how difficult it is to see clearly when two statements are opposed. Speaking of yellow at Pondicherry the anonymous author of the *Journal oeconomique* of 1756 tells us that they used 'the flowers of aldecay or cadoucay ... They are thick, bent by the wind [?] they are dried and kept for the purpose. The tree on which they grow is tall, the same shape as the olive tree, and grows on the Coromandel Coast. One can also use the fruit of the latter tree for the same dye, it has the same consistency and the same colour as nutmeg.' Father Coeurdoux, however, in whom we have confidence, describes in seven pages the process for yellow, also at Pondicherry, taking care to tell us that the flower in question is not a flower at all but an excrescence (a kind of flat nut – to use one of his terms). With regard to the cadou fruit, he says that 'it grows on a tree of medium height ... everywhere, but principally in the Malleiâlam, a mountainous country (according to its name), extending considerably along the Malabar[13] [sic] Coast. The dry fruit is about the size of a nutmeg.'

So many observers, so many different accounts – an old story.

A Letter from Father Coeurdoux, a Missionary of the Company of Jesus, to Father Du Halde of the same Company

The East Indies, January 18th, 1742.

My Reverend Father,

The peace of our Lord

I have not forgotten that in several of your letters you have urged me to acquaint you with the discoveries I might make in this part of India, since you are persuaded that knowledge is to be acquired here which, if transmitted to Europe, would possibly contribute to the progress of science or to the perfection of art. I should have followed your advice sooner, had not almost continuous occupation taken up all my time. Recently, with a little leisure, I have used it to find out the way in which Indians make those beautiful cloths, which form part of the trade of those Companies established to extend commerce, and which, crossing the widest seas, come from the ends of Europe into these distant climes to search for such things.

These cloths acquire their value and price from their brightness and, if I may say so, from the solidity and fastness of the colours they are dyed with, and which, so far from losing their brilliance by washing, actually grow more beautiful. The reason why European industry has not yet reached this point, as far as I know, is not for want of research on the part of our own skilled men of science, nor for want of ability in our workmen; but it would seem that the Author of Nature, as a set-off against other advantages which Europe enjoys, has granted India ingredients, and, above all, certain waters, whose particular qualities have much to do with the beautiful combination of painting and dyeing represented by Indian cloths.

What I have to tell you, my reverend Father, on these Indian paintings has been learnt from various neophytes skilful in this sort of work, on whom I recently conferred

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baptism. I have questioned them frequently and separately, and it is their replies that I am now sending you.[14]

1

Before attempting to paint the cloth, it has to be prepared in the following manner:

1. Take a piece of new, fine and closely woven cloth, the most common length being 9 cubits.[15] Half bleach it (I will say later how this has to be done). Take about 25 of the dried fruits of the *Cadou* or *Cadoucaie*[16] or, to be more exact, the weight of 3 *palams*. This Indian weight is equivalent to $1\frac{1}{8}$ oz., since $14\frac{1}{4}$ palams make 1 lb.
2. Break up the fruit to remove the kernel, which is of no use. Reduce the fruit to a powder (Indians do this on a stone, and make use of a stone cylinder similar to those used by pastrycooks in rolling out their dough).
3. Pass the powder through a sieve and put it into about 2 pints of buffalo milk, increasing the milk and the weight of *Cadou* as needed and according to the quantity of cloth.
4. After a short while immerse the cloth as often as necessary to be well steeped in the milk; then take it out, wring it strongly and put it to dry in the sun.
5. The next day wash the cloth lightly in plain water, wring it and, after having dried it in the sun, leave it in the shade for at least one quarter of an hour.

This *internal* preparation of the cloth[17] (as it may be called) is succeeded immediately by an *external* preparation having for its object only the surface of the cloth. To make it smoother, and in order that it offers no obstruction to the brush, the cloth is folded into quarters (or sixths) and is beaten by one piece of wood upon another smooth one, care being taken that it is beaten evenly all over its surface; and when sufficiently beaten, the folds are reversed and the operation repeated.

At this point, Reverend Father, I should like to add some remarks, which you will not, I think, consider quite useless:

1. The *Cadou* fruit is to be found in woods, on a tree of medium height; it grows almost everywhere, but principally in the *Malleiâlam*, a mountainous country (according to its name), extending considerably along the Malabar Coast.
2. This dry fruit, which is of the size of the nutmeg, is used here by the physicians, entering especially into the preparation of medicines given to women recently delivered.
3. It is extremely strong to the taste; however, some people say that, after you have kept a bit of it in your mouth for some time, it faintly tastes of liquorice.
4. When, having slightly moistened and broken a piece of it in your mouth, you take it between your fingers, you will find it very sticky.

It is in a good measure due to these two properties, ie., its astringency and its unctuousness, that the adherence of colours on Indian cloths must be attributed, but above all to its harshness. This is, at least, the opinion of the Indian painters.

For a long time people in Europe have been endeavouring to discover the art of fixing colours and of giving them that adherence which is to be admired on Indian cloths. I shall perhaps disclose this secret, at least for several colours, by the information I am now giving on the *Cadoucaie*, and above all on its main quality, which is its extreme harshness. Could not some similar fruits be found in Europe? Would not the gall-nut or the medlar (dried before maturing), or the pomegranate rind show properties not unlike those of the *Cadou*?[18]

To what I have just said I will add the result of certain experiments I made with the *Cadou*:

1. Lime added to an infusion of *Cadou* produces a green colour. When there is too much lime, the colour turns brown. When too much of this infusion is poured on this brown colour, it appears whitish at first, and soon afterwards the lime is precipitated in the bottom of the vessel.
2. White cloth steeped in a strong infusion of *Cadou* becomes a very pale yellow; but when buffalo milk is mixed with it, the cloth comes out a rather pale orange colour.
3. Having mixed a little of our European ink with some *Cadou* infusion, I noticed at several places within the liquid a bluish film of the kind seen on chalybeate water, with the difference that this film was in the liquid itself, at some distance from the surface.

It would be easy, in Europe, to make some experiments on the *Cadou* itself, as there would be no difficulty to have it sent from the Indies. These fruits come very cheap, as you get about thirty of them for one *sol* of our money.

The reason for buffalo milk being put into the infusion in preference to cow's milk is because the former contains more fatty matter and is more oily. The milk produces in cloth much the same effect as gum and other preparations used on paper to prevent the ink from spreading. In fact, I tried painting a cloth prepared only with *Cadou* with some of our ink and found that it spread much and soaked through to the other side of the cloth. The same thing happens with the black colour used by the Indians.

It is yet to be noted that not every wood will serve for beating and smoothing cloth. The wood that is generally used for the purpose is the tamarind, or another tree called *Porchi*, because they are exceedingly close grained and compact when old. The piece of wood employed for beating is called *Cottapouli* – round, about a cubit in length, as thick as one's leg, except at one end which is used as a handle. Two men seated opposite each other beat the cloth as they think fit; soon appearance and experience indicate when it is sufficiently polished and smooth.

2

We next come to the drawing of flowers or other designs upon the cloth so prepared. Our native workmen use nothing special beyond the pounce of our embroiderers. Having carefully made his design upon paper, the painter pricks the main outlines of it with a fine needle, then lays his paper on to the cloth and passes over it the pounce (a little bag of charcoal powder), which penetrates through the pricked holes, and by this means the design is transferred to the cloth. Any sort of charcoal will serve, with the exception of that of the palm tree, which in the opinion of the natives tears the cloth. With a brush or pencil he then touches up the outlines with black and red as required, and in this way the design is completely effected.

[14] Whilst Beaulieu asked a painter to operate before his eyes and took samples, Coeurdoux merely questioned a certain number of craftsmen. This explains the contradictions found in his report and which will be the object of the later fns.28 and 29.

[15] For the length of the cubit see references to 'coudées', Appendix 'A', fn.27.

[16] Aldecay in telinga, cadacay or caducay in tamil (Bancroft). The ounce is the French one, weighing 30·595g.

[17] This preparation with fat and a vegetable astringent (cadou) has the object of preventing the mordants from running on the cloth when painted and assisting the development of the colours they engender during the maddering operation.

[18] The cadou or myrobolan contains tannin, like the gall-nut. It acts as a dyestuff, or a mordant, or both together. With iron it gives black and thus appear the outlines of the drawings under the pencil of the painter operating on a cloth treated with cadou. In the subsequent chay bath the black turns deeper. When dyeing red with alum the tannin contributes to the fixation of a maximum of aluminium on the cotton fibre, giving more 'nourished' shades. The proper colour (yellow) of the astringent has most probably also an effect. The so called 'galling' became useless and disappeared little by little in the European printing industry after the discovery (second quarter of the eighteenth century?) of the aluminium acetate, which abandons more easily than alum its metal or aluminium to the cotton fibre. – Curious to say, this astringent treatment seems to have never been the object of a real scientific theory by the specialists of the dyeing problems.

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3

The next thing is now to paint or pencil the colours on the outlines of the design.[19] Black is the first to be applied – a colour not in much use, except for certain lines and for the stalks of the flowers. It is prepared as follows:

1. Several pieces of iron dross are taken and shaken one against another so as to get rid of the less solid matter, leaving large pieces of 9 or 10 times the size of an egg.
2. Then, in addition, five or six pieces of iron (whether old or new does not matter).
3. Having made upon the ground a heap of the iron and dross, a fire is lit on it, banana leaves being the best fuel; when dross and iron are red hot, they are drawn out and allowed to cool.[20]
4. The iron and dross are placed in a vessel holding 8 to 10 pints, and hot *Canje* (the water in which rice has been boiled) is poured over them, taking care that it contains no salt.[21]
5. They are then exposed in the sunlight, and after a day's interval the *Canje* is poured out and the vessel refilled with *Callou*, ie., palm-tree or cocoanut wine.
6. The vessel is again put out in the sun for three or four consecutive days, and the colour which serves to paint in black is now ready for use.[22]

Certain things must be observed in the preparation. The first is this: more than four or five pieces of iron must not go with eight or nine pints of *Canje*; otherwise the dye will redden and cut the cloth. The second concerns the quality of the palm and cocoanut wine, which readily sours in a few days, when vinegar is made of it and used in the place of yeast to leaven pastry. The third is that the wine from the cocoanut tree is preferable to that from the palm tree. The fourth is that, in default of such wine, *Kevarou* is used. This is a small seed of the country and a source of nourishment to many. In colour and size it strongly resembles turnip seed, but the stalk and leaves are quite different. They also use *Varagou*, which is another fruit of this country, and preferred to *Kevarou*. About two handfuls are pounded, then boiled, then emptied into the vessel over the iron and dross. Raw palm sugar (about the size of a couple of nutmegs) is then added, taking care not to exceed this amount, as then the colour would not last long and eventually disappear in bleaching. The fifth is that, to make the colour more brilliant, the *Kevarou* or the *Varagou*, prepared as I have just said, is added to the *Kallou*. The sixth and last observation is that the dye will not appear a deep black, nor will it last, unless the cloth has been treated with the *Cadou*.[23]

4

Having pencilled and painted with black all the places where this colour is needed, they then pencil in red the flowers and other designs requiring to be finished by that other colour. I say 'pencilled' because at this stage it is too early to paint in red – the blue, which requires much preparation, having first to be applied.

First place the cloth in boiling water and leave it for half an hour. If two or three *Cadous* are now added, the black will become deeper. Next, having diluted sheep's or goat's droppings in water, submerge the cloth in it, and leave it for the night. It must be washed next morning and exposed to the sun.

When asked the reason for this last operation, native painters all agree in saying that it serves to deprive the cloth of certain characteristics derived from the *Cadoucaie*, which, if they remained, would cause the blue when laid on to become black.

Yet another reason for the necessity of this operation is to give a better white to the cloth (which, as we said, was only half bleached at the beginning of the process). When exposed to the sun, it is not left to dry entirely, but sprinkled with water from time to time during one day. Then it is beaten on a stone at the water's edge, not with a beetle as in France, but in the Indian way, which is to fold it over several times and strongly strike it against a stone in much the same way as blacksmiths and farriers strike their heavy iron hammers on the anvil.

When the cloth is sufficiently beaten on one side, it must then be beaten on the other in the same way (twenty or thirty strokes are enough for the present operation). When finished, the cloth is dipped into rice *Canje*. The best way would be to take some *Kevarou*[24] (if procurable), pound it and put it in water on the fire (as if with the intention of boiling it), and, before it thickened much, dip in the cloth, take it out immediately, dry it, and beat it with the *Cottapouli*, as in the first operation for smoothing.

As the blue is not painted on with a brush but applied by dipping into a prepared indigo bath, the cloth must be painted or gone over with wax everywhere, except in the places which are black or are to be blue or green. This wax may be put on with an iron pencil as lightly as possible on one side only, taking care that only the parts I have mentioned remain without wax; otherwise blue spots would appear there which could not be blotted out again. When this is done, the cloth (waxed in this way) is exposed to the sun; and careful attention must be given that the wax only melts just sufficiently to penetrate to the other side. It is then quickly drawn away, turned over on the other side, and then strongly rubbed by the hand. The best way would be to use a brass vessel with a round bottom; thus the wax would spread everywhere and even to the places which, on the other side, must be dyed blue.

The preparation being now completed, the painter hands over the cloth to the blue dyer, to be returned at the end of a few days; for it must be noted that they are not ordinary painters but special workmen or dyers who look after this particular dye.[25]

Having asked a painter if he knew how indigo was prepared, he told me that he had this information, and explained it in the following manner, which you will perhaps be pleased to compare with the method used in the American Islands.

Here they take the leaves of the *Averei* or *Indigo-Plant*, which, after having been well dried, are reduced to powder. This powder is placed in a big vessel full of water and whipped strongly in the sun by a bamboo split in four, and whose four lower ends are spread far apart. The water is then allowed to run through a small hole in the bottom of the vessel, where the indigo is deposited. It is taken out and divided into pieces about the size of a pigeon's egg. Cinders are then spread out in the shade, and a cloth laid over them upon which the indigo is allowed to dry. It is now ready for use.

After this, it only remains to prepare it for the cloths which require dyeing. Having powdered a certain amount of indigo, the workman puts it in a large earthen vessel full of cold water, adding a proportionate quantity of lime similarly reduced to powder. He then smells the indigo to detect sourness, and in that case sufficient lime must be added until the odour is lost. Then, taking about a quarter of a bushel of *Tavarei* seeds, he lets them boil in a pail of water for a day and a night, taking care that the cauldron is always full of

[19] Here Coeurdoux repeats himself, as in the preceding section he already describes the designing in black and red.

[20] This treatment produces the iron oxide necessary for the further operations.

[21] Salt would have prevented fermentation of the liquid which has to turn acid, thus cleaning and preparing the iron for the following operation.

[22] The product is iron acetate, the well-known black mordant. The Telingas call it cassim (Bancroft).

[23] This observation is quite correct, see fn.18. It may be added that iron mordant without tannin gives a brown colour with chay, and a greyish lilac with madder, as remarked in 1900 by the well-known Swiss manufacturer and historian Jenny-Trumpy. (The shades vary of course with the degree of concentration of the mordant employed.)

[24] *Eleusine coracana*, in tamoul Kevarou, a sort of black millet, eaten like rice in Pondicherry. This finishing treatment has the same effect as the European starching and mangling. It renders here more easy the subsequent application of the wax resist on the cloth.

[25] Beaulieu does not tell us that the blue-dyeing was done by another set of craftsmen. This is a curious omission as indigo dyeing was generally reserved, in India, to a special class of people, owing to religious considerations.

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water. Then he pours out the whole (water and seed) into the vessel of prepared indigo. This dye is then left for three days, care being taken that the whole is thoroughly mixed by stirring it up four or five times a day with a stick. If the indigo is inclined to smell sour, a certain amount of lime must be added.

The blue being thus prepared, the cloth is dipped into it after having been folded in two, so that the right side is outside and the wrong side inside. It is left to soak for about an hour and a half, then taken out – dyed in blue in the right places. It is thus seen that Indian cloths deserve to be called 'dyed' quite as much as 'painted'.

The length and number of all those operations for dyeing a blue gave rise in my mind to a question (quite natural, as it seemed), which I submitted to one of the painters whom I was consulting. 'Would it not be better,' I suggested, 'to paint these blue flowers with a brush, the more so since there are but few of this colour in your design?' 'Doubtless it could be done,' he replied, 'but blue painted on in this way would not last and would disappear after two or three washings.[26]

I put to him another question as to what cause he attributed the tenacity and adherence of the blue colour; without hesitation he replied that it was due to the *Tavarei* seeds (I had already been given the same answer by another painter). This seed belongs to this country, although it is not found everywhere. It is light brown or olive green in colour, cylindrical, the length of one line, and split, as it were, at each end. It is difficult to break with the teeth, insipid in taste, leaving a slight bitterness in the mouth.[27]

5

After the blue comes the painting of the red. First of all, however, the cloth must be deprived of its wax; then it must be bleached and prepared to receive this colour. This is how the wax is removed: the cloth is placed in boiling water so that the wax melts; the fire is then reduced so that the wax can more easily float, and as much as possible is drawn off with a spoon; then the water is reboiled, so as to get away what wax remains. Although the wax will have become very dirty, this does not prevent it from being put to the same use again.

To bleach the cloth, it is first washed in water, then beaten on the stone nine or ten times, then steeped in other water diluted with sheep's droppings. Then it is washed again and hung for three days in the sun and lightly sprinkled with water from time to time (as I said before). Then a species of earth named *Ola*, which is used in bleaching cloths, is diluted in cold water, and the cloth is steeped in it for about an hour. Fire is then lit under the vessel, and when it begins to boil, the cloth is taken out and washed in a pond, at the edge of which it is beaten about four hundred times on a stone, and then strongly wrung out. It is next put for a day and a night to soak in water diluted with a small quantity of cow or female buffalo dung. It is then taken out and washed again in the pond, unfolded, hung half a day in the sun and lightly watered from time to time. Once more it is put on the fire in a vessel filled with water; and when the water has just boiled, it is taken out to be washed again in the pond, beaten slightly and then dried.[28]

Lastly, to adapt the cloth to receive and retain the red colour, the operation of the *Cadoucaie* (described in the beginning) must be repeated. That is to say, the cloth must be steeped in a simple infusion of *Cadou*,[29] then washed, beaten on a stone and dried. It is then steeped in buffalo milk, stirred and rubbed by hand for a certain time. When perfectly saturated, it is taken out, wrung and dried. Then it is that, if the red flowers require any white touches to represent pistil, stamen, or other characteristics, these places are pencilled with wax; and afterwards the red (which has been previously prepared) is painted on with an Indian pencil or brush. The painting in red is usually done by children, as this kind of work is less strenuous, unless a more perfect work should be wanted.

We now come to the way in which the red has to be prepared. Take some 'hard' water,[30] that is to say the water of certain wells having this quality. Put two ounces of powdered alum into two pints of water; add four ounces of the red wood called *Vartangui* or *Sapan* wood,[31] also reduced to powder. The whole is then put in the sun for two days, taking care that nothing sour or salt should fall into it, as the colour would then lose much of its strength. If the red is required darker, more alum is added. If, on the other hand, it is wanted lighter, more water must be poured in; and in that way the various shades and gradations of this colour are effected.

6

To make a colour of the shade of dregs of wine inclined to violet, take one part of red (just described) and an equal part of black, the composition of which has previously been given. Add an equal part of rice *Canje* that has been kept for three months, and this mixture will produce the colour in question. There is a ridiculous superstition prevailing amongst many gentiles relating to sour *Canje*. He who has it may use it himself every day of the week; but on Sunday, Thursday, and Friday he will refuse to supply others who might be in need of it. To give on these days, they say, would be driving their god from their house. If no sour *Canje* is available, sour *Callou* or sour palm wine may be used.

7

Different colours derived from red can be composed, but it is useless to enumerate them here. Suffice it to say that they should be painted on at the same time as the red, that is before passing to certain operations I am about to describe after some remarks on what has gone before:

[26] This is well observed, as indigo dyes only in the reduced state of white indigo. This soluble white indigo, fixed on the fibre in the vat, turns blue by oxidisation when exposed to the air. It is then already again in an insoluble state and cannot therefore be fixed fast on the cloth.

[27] The insoluble commercial blue indigo was at that time reduced (see above) by fermentation due to certain seeds and lime. Other old French reports about indigo in South India mention the *tamoul tagrevéré* or *tagaraviré* (cassia-tora, an acacia tree), called also *tantipautoulon* in Masulipatam, maybe this plant and *tavarei* are identical. Still in 1881 exactly the same manner was practised in Pondicherry for the reduction of indigo, ie., *tagrevere* and lime (Bull. SIM 1881, p.271).

The fastness of the blue has of course nothing to do directly with the seed itself, which can be replaced by any other appropriate agent.

[28] We have seen at the beginning that the design has been pounced with charcoal and the lines pencilled with the black and red mordants. During the severe treatment of the cloth just described, it is obvious that the design would be bound to disappear and have to be drawn again, had it not undergone a first maddering. Thus it is nearly certain that Coeurdoux missed one of the two red-dyeing operations which we duly find in Beaulieu's report.

[29] Coeurdoux wants to repeat here what he said 'at the beginning', but whilst he first describes only one operation, the buffalo milk bath containing an astringent, he is now more complete and his new indications – soaking in a dilute aqueous astringent solution followed by the passage in milk – correspond to those given by Beaulieu. This is another proof that the Father's text must be read with some caution. Beaulieu mentions only a second treatment with milk, not with cadou.

[30] The French word is 'âpre', harsh, and it is difficult to know what Coeurdoux exactly meant by this term. The said water must most probably or even certainly have contained calcium, thus being hard. Indeed the presence of calcium is indispensable for obtaining a good fast red, the components of the lake formed on the cotton fibre being alizarine, aluminium and calcium. The first comes from the madder or madder-like plants, the second from the alum used as mordant, and the third is either in the plant itself having grown on a calcium containing soil, or is added to the dyeing bath, or comes from the water used.

This water problem had also been discovered by the European printers. In 1761, for example, the Mulhouse manufacturers Eck, Schwartz & Cie had to dismiss a newly engaged colourist because he could not succeed in getting good reds, and he gave as excuse for his failure that he did not know well the quality of the water he had to employ. In 1775 a printer left Normandy for Alsace where he was unable to get the colours he was accustomed to produce. After having made tests in every direction he finally discovered (1776) that the mountain river running through his factory lacked calcium.

[31] The aluminium mordant is colourless, so it must be slightly tinted to the effect that the painter sees what he is doing. The iron mordant, on the contrary, is yellow-brown.

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1. Wells giving 'hard' water are not very common, even in India; often only one is to be found in a whole town.
2. I have tried this water and have not found the taste ascribed to it; but it appears to me to be inferior to ordinary water.
3. This water is used preferably to any other, according to some, to make the red finer and according to others more generally, it is an absolute necessity, as otherwise the red would not hold.[32]
4. It is from Achen that good alum and good Sapan wood are brought to the Indies.

Whatever virtue 'hard' water may have in rendering the red adherent, this colour will neither hold sufficiently nor satisfy as to appearance unless the dye of *Imbouré* is added more commonly called *Chaiaver* or *Chaia* root.[33] But before putting it into work, the cloth must be prepared by washing it in the pond in the morning, plunging it in several times so that it imbibes the water, which is the principal object and does not happen quickly because of the greasiness of the buffalo milk in which this cloth has previously been put. It is then beaten about thirty times on a stone and half dried.

While the cloth is being prepared, it is necessary to prepare as well the *Chaia* root, which is done in the following way: take some of the root (well dried) and reduce it to a fine powder by pounding it well in a stone mortar (it is expressly recommended not to use a wooden one), adding from time to time a little 'hard' water. Take about three pounds of the powder and put it into two pails of ordinary water at tepid heat, taking care to stir up the whole a little with the hand. This water will become red, but it will only give the cloth a somewhat dirty colour; thus it only serves to give the other red colours their final perfection.

To do this, plunge the cloth into the dye and, in order to fix the colour, stir and turn the cloth; on every side for half an hour while the fire under the vessel is being increased. When the hand can no longer stand the heat of the dye, those who are desirous of the highest style of work never fail to take out the cloth, then to wring and dry it well. The reason is this: in painting red it is difficult to prevent splashes in places where they ought not to be. It is true that the painter takes them out with his finger as far as possible, very much in the same way as we do when a spot of ink falls upon our writing paper. But there always remain spots that the *Chaia* dye renders at first more apparent. That is the reason why, before any further process, the cloth is taken out and dried (as I have said). The workman then seeks for these spots and removes them as best he can with a lemon cut in two.

The spots having been taken out, the cloth is again put into the dye and the fire increased until the hand can no longer bear the heat; care is taken to stir the cloth in every direction for half an hour. Towards the evening the fire is increased and the dye boiled for half an hour. The fire is then extinguished, and when the dye is lukewarm, the cloth is taken out, wrung vigorously, and kept moist until the next day.

Before passing on to other colours, it is as well to say something about the *Chaia*. This plant grows wild, but it is also sown according to needs; it rises only to about half a foot from the ground; its leaf is a clear green, about 2 lines in width and 5 to 6 in length. The flower is extremely small and bluish. Its seed is scarcely bigger than that of tobacco. This little plant sometimes sends down its root nearly four feet into the earth, but this is not the best, as a 1 ft. or 1½ ft. root is preferred. This root is extremely slender; and though it penetrates far in the earth, and very straight, it only throws right and left the fewest and smallest of rootlets. Yellow when fresh, it becomes brown when dried up; and then only will it give a red colour to water. Here I noted an astonishing particular: I had steeped some in water, which had become red; but during the night the water was accidentally overturned. Next morning I was much surprised to find collected at the bottom of the vessel some drops of yellow liquid. I suspected that some strange body had fallen into the liquid and had caused the change in colour. I spoke about it to a painter, who replied that it only proved that the *Chaia* I had used was of good quality, and that when workmen powder this root, adding a little water (as explained before), it is quite common for it to take a saffron tint. I also made another observation: to the outside of the overturned vessel a film of a rather fine violet colour was attached. This plant is sold dry in packets; its upper part with the dried leaves is cut off and only the root is used for the dye.

As the cloth has been entirely plunged into it (the red dye), and must have thoroughly absorbed it, it has now to be drawn out without any fear that the reds are going to be damaged by the following operations. They are the same as those which we have already spoken of: ie. the cloth has to be washed in the pond, beaten ten or twelve times on the stone, bleached with sheep's droppings, and, on the third day, washed with soap, beaten, and allowed to dry while water is lightly thrown upon it from time to time. It is left damp during the night and again washed next morning and dried as the day before. At noon it is finally washed in hot water to remove soap and any filth attached to it, and then well dried.

8

If a green colour has to be painted on the cloth, like preparations have to be made, which are these: take a *palam* (or a little more than an ounce) of *Cadou* flower,[34] the same amount of *Cadou*, a handful of *Chaiaver*, and, if you require a very fine green, add the rind of a pomegranate. Having reduced these ingredients to powder, put them in three bottles of water, which has to be boiled until it has lost three quarters of its volume. Empty this dye into a vessel, straining it through a cloth. Into each bottle of the dye put half an ounce of powdered alum; shake the bottle for some time, and the colour is completed.

If this colour is painted upon blue, you will get green. For this reason, when the workmen dyed the cloth blue, he took care to avoid painting with wax the parts of the design intended to be green, so that the cloth previously dyed in blue should afterwards be fit to take the green. It is quite necessary to paint on the blue, as nothing but a yellow colour would result from painting on a white cloth.

I must, however, warn you that this green will not hold like the blue and the red; in fact, after the cloth has been washed four or five times, it will disappear, leaving in its place only the blue upon which it was applied. There is nevertheless a means of fixing this colour so that it will last as long as the cloth itself. Here it is: take the bulb (*l'oignon*) of the banana-tree, pound it while fresh and extract the juice. Into each bottle of green dye put four or five spoonfuls of this juice. The green will now become permanent and indelible, the only drawback being that it will thereby lose part of its beauty.[35]

9

It now remains to speak of the yellow colour, which does not need lengthy explanation. The same colour which serves for green by painting on blue does for yellow by painting on a white cloth. But this colour is not permanent, disappearing after a certain amount of washing. However, if only they are lightly soaped, or rinsed in sour whey mixed with lemon juice, or steeped in water containing dissolved cow dung, and which has been sifted through a cloth, these fickle colours will last very much longer.

[32] See fn.30.

[33] Called *tscherivello* by the Telingas, *chay, che, chayaver, sayaver, imbourel* by the Tamils (Bancroft). *Oldenlandia umbellata* has the same properties as the European madder. Father Coeurdoux commits here the somewhat astonishing error of thinking that the red comes from the Sapan wood which in reality gives only a tint to the alum, the latter being here the indispensable drug.

[34] This is no real flower, as explained in the Coeurdoux letter of 1747 (see the following translation).

[35] The Father is here of course much too optimistic. If the banana recipe had been something serious, the yellows and greens thus produced on the old Indian painted cottons would have come down to us, unchanged, which, alas, is not the case.

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Before concluding, a word must be said as to the Indian pencils. They are nothing but a small piece of bamboo wood sharpened and split at the end for a distance of a finger-breadth from the tip. Fastened to it is a small portion of stuff, saturated with the colour it is desired to paint, which is squeezed out by the fingers. The pencil used for painting wax is of iron, of length equal to three finger-breadths or a little more; it is slender at the top, by which it is inserted into a small stick serving as a handle. It is split at the end and forms a circle in the middle, around which is fixed a ball of hair about the size of a nutmeg; these hairs absorb the hot wax, which trickles little by little from the extremity of the sort of pencil.

I have now, my reverend Father, set out everything I could ascertain respecting the painting of Indian cloths. I do not know whether I shall prove more fortunate than others before me in this direction. As, however, they would not be conversant with the native tongue, indispensable for dealing with the painters, nor accustomed to their ways, and since their very condition must naturally give rise to a certain mistrust in these timid natives, I doubt whether they could have successfully carried out the orders imparted them in this matter. Not that I should wish to guarantee the truth of everything I have been reporting to you, as it would be difficult to allow no error or misconception to creep in when information has to be sought from those who know better how to work than how to explain. However, as I did not confine myself to a single painter but consulted several, and since it would not have been easy for them all to have unknowingly conspired to deceive me, it is scarcely likely I have strayed very far from the actual truth. I am, etc.

A Letter from Father Coeurdoux, a Missionary of the Company of Jesus, to Father[36] *... of the same Company*

Pondicherry, December 22nd, 1747

My Reverend Father,

I do not know whether the letter I wrote in 1742 on the painted cloths of India can prove of any assistance in perfecting the art of Painting and Dyeing in Europe; that, at least, was the aim I had in mind. Since then I tried here to arouse the fancy of some persons able to improve on what I said on these matters and to add some new and useful knowledge. Among others I applied to M. Lepoivre, late of the Foreign Missions, whom the misfortunes of war had brought to Pondicherry in 1746. A bullet had carried off his right arm; but in his left one he found the whole of that ability for painting which he was apparently to lose in consequence of such sad accident.

As soon as he was in this city, he became acquainted with what I had written on cotton painting, and, having undertaken to put it into practice, he succeeded in doing so. I then urged him to set down in writing his considerations and remarks, whether they were consistent with mine or opposed to them, assuring him that they could only be most welcome to me since they would contribute to perfect some arts which, anyway, were not of my calling. If his civility prevented him from acceding to all I requested and to criticise me as much as I could have wished, my entreaties have at least produced the letter I am forwarding you. In its brevity it contains many judicious observations, which will doubtless give a real pleasure to the lovers of the fine arts, if you would impart them to such persons.

A Letter from Monsieur Lepoivre to Father Coeurdoux

My Reverend Father,

My first attempt to paint after the Indian fashion has at last come to an end. I should have finished sooner had it not been for that laziness and tardiness the workers of this country can never get rid of. I had to use much forbearance in order to watch them in all their proceedings; thus it did not depend on me to satisfy you earlier on behalf of the observations you did me the honour of requesting from me.

In my first performance my aim was not only to acquire some knowledge on the way the Malabars[37] paint their fabrics, but also to make several experiments in order to find out whether the drugs they resort to, and which we do not possess, could not be supplied in Europe.

I even followed the method by which they work and of which they are slaves only as far as I deemed necessary to get acquainted with it and to know it; indeed I often deviated from it to see whether success could not be achieved by some other means, and whether more accomplished results could not be obtained more simply.

I must confess that on many points I have been but moderately successful; on some others I failed entirely; sometimes I have been more fortunate. That is the fate of those who are first in undertaking something new and who, wishing to perfect some imperfect craft, begin by throwing off the yoke of custom and freeing themselves from the ordinary rules. Here are then the remarks my first attempts have provided me:

1. I must do justice to the research work you carried out on the way Indians paint their cloths. Your findings are very accurate and quite precise. Lovers of the fine arts ought to be deeply grateful to you for the new knowledge you imparted them on the matter. I find that your Letter explains quite clearly and with a good many details the various proceedings of our method of painting. I would only wish that you could give in Europe a more distinct notion of the different drugs that enter into calico painting here. If you could, therefore, get some moment of leisure in your apostolic work, you would render a genuine service to our interested people in Europe by giving them some new explanation on the fruit you call *Cadoucaie*, and on the plant you have already acquainted them with under the name of *Chayaver*. These are the two most essential ingredients, the ignorance of which might impede the success of those who, in Europe, should desire to imitate the painting work of India.
2. The *Cadoucaie* is a genuine Myrobolan, of which, as you know, our druggists distinguish five species: the citrine Myrobolan, the Indian or Black Myrobolan, the Chebule, the Emblic and the Belleric Myrobolan. Our Malabars use only the first two species, which contain much essential salt and oil. After having crushed them, they mix them with some cow-buffalo milk. This kind of milk is not absolutely necessary. I have found that cow milk produced the same result. If it is the unctuosity of the former that, in this country, makes it to be preferred to the latter, the same reason does not hold in Europe, where cow milk is much more unctuous than any milk likely to be found in India.
3. I do not think that colour adherence must be attributed to that first preparation to which cloths are submitted here; it serves solely to render them susceptible to take on any colour that may be applied afterwards, and which otherwise would get too flat or extend too much, more or less as our ink does on paper insufficiently aluminised. Like the Indians, the Chinese own the secret of painting on cotton, at least in red. Before they set to work, they do not give their fabrics any other preparation as the one they give their papers, ie., steeping then in a mixture of alum and very light glue. Their products are no less indelible, though they use neither *Cadou* nor buffalo milk. I therefore am of opinion that the *Cadou*

[36] Coeurdoux's usual correspondent, Father du Halde, died before 1747, and at the time of writing his successor was unknown.

[37] Mr John Irwin explains to me in a letter M. Le Poivre is here misusing the term 'Malabar', and that he really meant 'Tamil'. Such misuse was common among Europeans and derived from the fact that when the Portuguese first settled on the Coromandel Coast they were under a mistaken impression that the language of this area (Tamil) was the same as that of the Malabar coast of S. W. India and therefore called both 'Malabar'. This misapplication persisted long after the true facts were known and is mentioned in Sonnerat, *Voyages*, Paris, 1781, vol.I, p.47: 'Les habitants de la cote de Coromandel sont appellés *Tamouls:* les Européens les nomment improprement *Malabars.*'

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has no other use but that of blackening that first dash which the Malabars use to mark their design after first having pounced its pattern. Indeed I have observed that this drug, an explanation of which you give under article 3, is at first just a reddish water, charged with vitriolic parts, and which gets black only when applied on the preparation of *Cadoucaie*. Thus the gall-nut will produce the same result.[38]

4. I made one more experiment, in which I succeeded: our European fabrics are as susceptible as Indian ones to the same painting. I painted a white handkerchief of common cloth[39] from Brittany with the preparation of *Sapan* wood, and the result was excellent. I had the handkerchief washed several times and its colours remained equally brilliant; I shall send it to you so you may judge by yourself.

   I believe that instead of *Sapan* wood you could use to better advantage the dye of *Pernambuco* wood or even of *Cochineal*: the latter would bring about infinitely better results than any obtainable by means of the *Sapan* wood, which is exactly the same as the one called in France *Brazil* wood. I made an attempt with some Carmine which, although entirely spoilt, gives the cloth as much brightness as the freshest Indian paintings.[40]

5. With respect to the *Chayaver*, of which I have the honour to send you one plant, drawn and painted from life, it is visible that colours, at least the red one, owe their adherence and tenacity to its roots. Until the painted cotton has been boiled in a decoction of that root, it is impossible to entrust the freshly painted cloth to the laundryman, for the colour will fade; it does not get adherent until it has been sufficiently imbibed with the alkaline salts of that root.[41]

   In my opinion, this plant is nothing else but what Mr. Tournefort calls *Gallium album vulgare*. The description that learned botanist gives of his plant is exactly the same as the one that could be made of the *Chayaver*. In any case, even if the two plants be different, they have one common effect, which is to curdle milk: I myself made the experiment.

These are, Reverend Father, all the observations I could submit on the way the Indians paint their cloths in Pondicherry; if you consider them appropriate, they may help the purpose you have in bringing to Europe the secret of the Indies. It is surprising that, so far, there should not have been in this country any European interested in the matter, endeavouring to enrich his own country with an art from which so much advantage could be drawn.[42] It is to be wished that, when leaving their countries, our travellers would not forget it so often. There are but few peoples who do not own some particular art or craft the knowledge of which might be useful to Europe. Discoveries of such kind would be of more profit than an infinity of exaggerated and not over accurate reports by which those who travel expect to entertain the public. So far, Your Reverend Fathers, and above all those working with the China Missions, have been the only ones to give us an example of such useful pursuit. The pains they have taken to find out the way the Chinese work the porcelain, cultivate the mulberry-trees and feed the silkworms deserve the gratitude of all their countrymen, whom they have so usefully served. Why does such beautiful example encounter but so few followers?

I trust, Reverend Father, that if you have made some new discovery, you will be so kind as to apprise me of it with the same frankness as I am informing you of mine.

I have the honour to be with my deepest regard,
Reverend Father,

Your very humble and most obedient servant,
LEPOIVRE

This letter induced me to do some research work and to formulate some new considerations which may, too, be of some utility. Here they are:

1. Although the *Cadoucaie* is the first of the Myrobolan species of our druggists, the Indians, unlike them, do not range it under the same name as that of fruits produced by quite different trees.
2. Just as we distinguish green walnuts and ripe ones, so do Indian dyers and merchants discriminate between the *Pindjou Cadoucaies*, ie. those gathered while still green and tender to be dried in this condition, and those that have been left to ripen before being taken off. At sight, they seem to be very different, but they are undoubtedly fruits from the same trees.
3. The reason for this distinction and for the different styles of gathering *Cadoucaies* arises from the differences found in the hard waters suitable for dyeing, which have been mentioned elsewhere, and which are not absolutely the same everywhere, nor of the same quality, and the deficiency of which must be made up by some more astringent *Cadoucaies*, collected prior to their maturity.

   As an instance, the quality of the waters of Madras, the former English colony, very famous in the Indies, and taken by the French in 1746, requires the use of *Pindjou Cadoucaies*; whereas in Pondicherry one must use those gathered when ripe. Not all Indian dyers agree that it is this lack of a certain degree of hardness of the waters that obliges to resort to *Myrobolans* gathered when still tender; some dyers claim on the contrary that, *Pindjou Cadoucaies* having, as they say, less harshness than well ripened ones, they require the use of harder waters. Be that as it may, it is rather astonishing that the Indians should have discovered in the difference of maturity of those fruits a means for making up for the deficiency of some waters, suitable in other respects for dyeing and painting.[43]

   These *Pindjou Cadoucaies* are so much the better as they are smaller. Some of them are scarcely 6 lines in length. Some are of a brown colour, some others quite black; but this difference in colour is only accidental and does not indicate different species. As they have been gathered when still green, it is not surprising that, after they have dried, their surface is entirely covered with wrinkles. But as it requires much more work to gather and to dry them, their price is much higher than that of the well ripened ones.
4. We must range among the *Pindjou Cadoucaies* one kind of *Myrobolans* that are brown or black like the small ones I just mentioned, but bigger and larger than those used by Pondicherry painters, although they have been gathered when ripe. I was at pains to believe it, but an Indian painter convinced me of it by breaking in my presence one of those big *Cadoucaies* and its core, showing me its badly fed pulp, covered with a brown skin; whereas a well ripened *Cadoucaie* which he broke too

[38] The Chinese painting on cotton seems to have nothing to do with the Indian manner of dyeing mordants, and the comparison made has thus no sense. But the observation about iron mordant getting black in contact with cadou is quite correct (see fn.18).

[39] The French word 'toile' has most probably to be taken here in the sense of a linen cloth, as this fibre was woven in Britanny. It is regrettable that the Le Poivre sample is no more available, as Sapan wood does not dye very fast, and linen is not so easy to dye as cotton.

[40] Cochineal, an animal mordant-dye, yields in fact far better results regarding fastness than the decoctions of the said woods. Maybe 'entirely spoilt carmine' refers to cochineal.

[41] There is of course no saturation of the cloth with alkaline salts of the chayroot. The dyeing principle is the alizarine contained in the root (see fn.33.) If a freshly painted cotton would be sent to the laundryman it is only the tint given to the mordants which would disappear, the tint having absolutely nothing to do with the subsequent colouring of the mordants in the madder bath.

[42] The Indian method was introduced in Europe, as far as we know, already in the last quarter of the 17th century, and the 'surprising fact', one can say, is that Le Poivre knew nothing about this western industry!

[43] This passage is remarkable as it shows again the great importance of the quality of the waters employed for the fabrication of painted cottons. As we know nothing about the chemical composition of both the said cadou fruits and the waters used at that time, it is not possible to get a clear idea of the effect of the described proceeding. Anyhow, as here we have no maddering it seems that no calcium problem would exist.

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had in its core a well conditioned pulp, as white as an almond. The reason for this difference is that one same sort of *Cadou* tree comprises several varieties, the fruits of which are of different sizes, as our apples are not all equally big, conformably to the different species of apple-trees bearing them.

This is what I learnt from a drug merchant of this country, whom I consulted on the matter; for it is only by dint of many questions put with much patience to several persons that one may hope to get from those people what one should like to know; this is, however, not always a loss of time since one man informs you of some circumstance that may have escaped the other. The difficulty is, sometimes, to reconcile them when their opinions differ and their statements are contradictory. Further queries addressed severally to other people and a redoubling of patience permit at least to discover on which side lies the truth.

My merchant added that those big *Cadoucaies* came mainly from the Northern Provinces, and that the ones from Surat were of that kind as well; and he also confirmed me in what I said before on the evidence of the Indian painters, namely that the *Cadoucaies Pindjou* as well as those other ones gathered only when well ripened were absolutely the same fruits and from the same trees, assuring me that in his youth he had travelled to the West of Pondicherry and up to the mountain range near the Malabar Coast where these fruits are brought from, and that he had seen them being gathered.

5. I must not omit to mention here another product from the *Cadou* tree called by them *Cadoucaipou*, ie. blossom of *Cadoucaie*, although it is anything but its blossom. It is a kind of dry fruit, or simply a flattened shell, often orbicular, the colour of dead leaves outside, and inside a velvety brown. It does not seem to have ever contained anything, unless it be the eggs of the insects that probably gave birth to it, for this kind of nut is to be found on the very leaves of the *Cadou* and is originated in the same way as the gall nut and some other excrescences that appear on the leaves of some trees in Europe.

Some of those *Cadoucaipou* are up to one inch in diameter; many are smaller; I was also told that there are larger ones, but I did not see them. The description *Lemery* gives of the nux vomica fits them quite aptly. Wondering whether it was not effectively the same, they gave a strong dose of it to a dog, who was not inconvenienced by it. It even seemed to do him good, as it does to human beings, since physicians of the country use it with good results against colics and dysentery by means of some preparations which it would take too long to describe and which are not my subject. It is astonishing that such an efficacious drug should not be known in Europe, as I was assured of it by a very intelligent person (M. Mabile, a doctor of medicine).

6. In any case, this sort of flat nut is of great usefulness for cotton painting, and I shall expound the use Indian painters make of it all the more readily since I mentioned it too briefly before for want of the information I was given at a later time. Here are the particulars of the preparation of the yellow colour made with the *Cadoucaipou*:

Take for instance four ounces[44] of it and, without squashing or crushing it, let it soak about 24 hours in some forty ounces of hard water. Place then the mixture on the fire after having thrown on it one ounce of pulverised *Chayaver*. Let it come to the boil three times, taking the fire away when it is boiling and putting it then back to get it to boil three times so that in the end the water is reduced by half. Pour this water into another vase so that the *Cadoucaipou* remains at the bottom of the other one, and when that water has become lukewarm, introduce first one ounce of alum reduced to powder and dissolved in hot water. With the liquid thus prepared, if you paint on blue, you will get a green colour; if you paint on white cotton prepared with the *Cadoucaie* and the milk as I explained previously, you will obtain a yellow colour. If you want a stronger green, you must first darken the blue on which this yellow water is to pass. To obtain a light yellow, take from this water the quantity needed after it has boiled only once. The yellow will be stronger if you draw out water that has boiled twice. It will be much stronger yet if you let the water diminish by three quarters. To get a darker yellow, you may also paint twice and several times the same spot with the same water. I already pointed out that those colours are not like the red, which grows more beautiful in the laundry, whereas those others fade progressively, the more you bleach the cotton on which they are painted.[45]

7. The *Cadoucaipou* is not only made use of to paint in yellow; dyers, too, avail themselves of it to dye in this colour, but the preparation of this dye is much simpler. In order to dye, for example, six cubits of cotton, take four palams of *Cadoucaipou*; break it into small pieces and let them soak or steep about half an hour in some 16 or 17 pounds of hard water, or even any other water, provided it is neither briny nor brackish. Get it then to boil until it has diminished by about one quarter; when it has somewhat cooled down, put the cloth in getting it well soaked; wring it then lightly and let it dry well in the sun.

Furthermore dissolve in 16 pounds of water two palams of alum reduced to powder; heat it until it is more than lukewarm; dip then into it the same cloth, which you wring lightly, letting it then dry a second time in the sun. A blue cloth dyed in the same preparation and after the same fashion will be dyed in green. You may also dye yellow with even less preparation and cost. For the same quantity of cloth, take one palam of *Cadoucaipou*, which you crush on a stone by means of a cylinder, throwing some water on it so that this ingredient forms a kind of paste. Steep it in two or three pints of water, which you then strain through a rag; add then three times as much of the plant called *Terramerita*,[46] which is prepared in the same way as the *Cadoucaipou*; the *Terramerita* from Bengal is preferred to the one growing here. Heat this water, immerse the cloth into it, and it will be dyed yellow after you have dried it not in the sun but in the shade, for otherwise this colour, which is neither beautiful nor adhesive, would soon grow red or brown.

8. M. Lepoivre thinks that the property of contributing to the adherence of colours must be denied to the *Cadoucaie*. On this point I cannot be entirely of his opinion. It has against it the opinion of the Indians themselves; and, according to the report of M. *Paradis* on red dye, which I shall communicate later on, this fruit is used in dyeing where the question is not at all to gum the cloth as one gums paper to be written on. The example of the Chinese, who paint quite well in red without any *Cadoucai* proves at most that it is an ingredient they lack, or which they replace somewhere, as they have done for the *Chayaver*, which they do not seem to know.[47]

9. In order to decide whether the *Chayaver* is the same plant as the *Gallium album vulgare*, the shortest way would be to send some of its seed to France. If it grew there, one could judge at a glance whether it is the same plant that is to be found in France and in the Indies. If it is the same, M. Lepoivre will have rendered an impor-

[44] The ounce is the French one, weighing 30·595g.

[45] Coeurdoux seems to have abandoned the banana-recipe for fast yellow (see fn.1, p.112).

[46] Terramerita or Turmeric (Curcuma) is one of the few so-called 'substantive dyes' ie. soluble in water and dyeing directly, but of course the yellow it yields is not fast to light or washing. It is sometimes tried to improve its stability by adding alum and this is the way Beaulieu describes for the use of Turmeric.

[47] The Chinese example seems again not relevant. Of course Le Poivre is wrong when saying that the cadou does not contribute to the adherence of the colours. But it must be observed here that his explanations in this regard are somewhat contradictory. For the effect of the cadou see fns.17 and 18.

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tant service to the dyers by acquainting them with the virtues of such a useful plant, which they had available without knowing its uses. Should it not be the same, he will at least have given the botanists some pleasure by revealing them a new *Gallium* or cheese-rennet which, as it seems, has escaped the author of *Hortus Malabaricus*. What makes me somewhat doubtful as to the two plants being the same in spite of these similitudes they may show is the fact that no botanist gives the *Gallium album vulgare* those long roots that in some way characterise the Indian *Chayaver*.

Those are, Reverend Father, the observations I made with respect to M. Lepoivre's letter. He has painted from life a *Chayaver* plant, which I have the honour of sending to you; I believe it may, as well as his letter, be of interest to the persons curious of these matters.

I have the honour to be with my deepest regards in the union of your SS. SS, Reverend Father,

Your very humble and most obedient servant COEURDOUX of the Company of Jesus.

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Comparison between the Coeurdoux and Beaulieu figures

Equivalences admitted (without evidence as said before):

Pound	1 livre poids de marc = 489·5g
	1 once = 30·595g
	1 gros = $\frac{1}{8}$ once = 3·824g
Ser and pot	1 serre = 0·417398 litre
	1 pot = 2 pintes (of Paris) = 1·85 litre
Palam	1 palam = $1\frac{1}{8}$oz = 34·419g
Aune	1 aune (of Paris) = 1·188m
Cubit	three possible lengths of the coudée

	Coeurdoux	Beaulieu
Cloth length	4·30 or 6·30 or 9·40m	7·128m
Preparation		
astringent (cadouca)	103·25g (only	(1st) 125g (2nd) 125g
milk	1·85l one recipe	.... 0·8348l
water	.... is given	3·70l 1·25l
Mordants		
black iron	5–6 pieces of iron, a few pieces of iron dross	489·5g vitriolic stones
acetic acid	each 9–10 times the size of an egg	0·8348l
	7·40 – 8·40l	
	The French word 'machefer' is ambiguous as dross is. Roxburgh (see footnote no.6, p.56) says that the cassim (iron mordant) is made with some broken pieces of the vitrified matter of a blacksmith's forge, and some bits of old rusty iron.	
red alum	61·2g	30·6g
water	1·85l for a 'mean' red	0·4174l
red wood	122·4g	122·4g
violet	$\frac{1}{3}$ black, $\frac{1}{3}$ red, $\frac{1}{3}$ rice water (many other combinations and variations of concentration for other colours)	0·4174l black mordant diluted in 4·174l water
yellowish red	....	alum 34·4g curcuma 30·595g rice water 4·174l
Maddering		
chayroot	1·47k° only one operation	(1st) 735g (2nd) 1·96k°
water	11(?)l is mentioned	5·5l 7·4l
Yellow (painted)		
cadouca	ca. 34·419g	30·595g
cadouca 'flower'	do	244·76 g
chayroot	handful	61·2g
alum	15·3g per bottle	....
water	3 bottles	3·34l

It appears from the above comparison that the recipes of Coeurdoux are less accurate than Beaulieu's, especially regarding the preparation and the maddering. In both cases one operation seems to have been omitted.

Coeurdoux's violet is a wine-lees red with a violet touch, and thus obtained by the process of mixing red and black mordants. The more genuine violet is produced by diluting the black mordant with water (Beaulieu).

The first maddering of the naval officer, which gives the outlines of the design, and the single maddering of the Rev Father have exactly the same proportion of chayroot and water, whilst the second maddering of the former, which dyes the surfaces, is much more concentrated. This reinforces the idea that Coeurdoux failed to describe one red bath.

From the discrepancies we noted, one can but conclude that if the theory of painting cottons in India is well known for the eighteenth century, the practice remains rather obscure.

Neither Coeurdoux nor Beaulieu made an allusion to the possibility of adding chalk to the madder bath (as this was done in Europe later on) and this explains why this product is not represented in the above mentioned enumeration. Yet, calcium is indispensable for the formation of the genuine red lac, which is a calcium-aluminium-alizarate, the calcium coming either from the water or the madder or both, or being added by man to the bath. The Indians do not seem to have been aware that what they looked for in certain waters or madder qualities to improve their chintz was the presence of calcium. Thus we understand why the production of painted cottons of high standards remained bound to certain places or regions in India. In Europe the case was quite different, the absence of this element could be palliated by man from the time (second half of the eighteenth century?) when manufacturers who were not located on a calcareous soil, had discovered its necessary presence.

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Appendix 'C'

The Roxburgh account of Indian cotton-painting: 1795*

By P.R. Schwartz

The art of painting cottons with mordants is certainly very old in India, but unfortunately we lack any technical or precise geographical information for ancient times. As for the documentary evidence of more recent times, it relates curiously enough only to the Coromandel Coast.

It seems that the first surviving document proving clearly the use of alum for painting on cotton cloth prepared with milk and tannin, is the report of a Dutchman, Daniel Havart, who was employed as an agent of the Dutch East India Company on the Coromandel Coast towards the year 1680 (the report was not published in Amsterdam until 1693). But the first really accurate description of the manufacture of Coromandel chintz is that of the French naval officer Beaulieu.[1] This dates from about 1735 and is followed by a still more detailed report – the letter of the Jesuit Father Coeurdoux dated 1742.[2]

As far as we know in the present state of research, no other first-hand report of the same kind was written for more than half a century, the author the next time being an Englishman, the famous botanist William Roxburgh (1750–1815). He published in London, in 1795, a magnificent set of three illustrated volumes entitled *Plants of the Coromandel Coast*. In the first volume (part II, ch.I) we find a complete description of *Oldenlandia umbellata* or Chay, the dye plant corresponding to European madder, followed by a detailed account of the dyeing process as practised in the Masulipatam area. This account is most probably the first by a trained scientific mind, and therefore seems worth reprinting and discussing in relation to the two earlier documents by Beaulieu and Coeurdoux mentioned above.

The relevant part of Roxburgh's description reads as follows.

'A receipt for dyeing red with this root [*Oldenlandia Umbellata*, or Chay], as practised in the Masulipatam district, supposes one square yard of pretty fine cotton cloth, which has been previously bleached.

First. Take of the coarsely powdered root one or one and a half ounce, boil it gently for a few minutes in three pints of soft water; in this dip the cloth repeatedly for a few minutes, wring and wash it out in cold water, and dry it in strong sunshine upon sand or gravel.

This first operation is to take out any remains of the quicklime, etc. employed by the bleachers in whitening the cloth.

Second day. Take half an ounce of the outer covering of caducay nuts (nuts of Terminalia citrina), in powder, mix it in a pint of cold water,[3] let it stand a little then strain it through a bit of thin rag, with this mix a third part of fresh buffalo's milk (I believe cow's milk is as good); in this wash or rub the cloth thoroughly, wring it gently and dry it in the sun.

Third day. The cloth is washed out in cold water; yesterday's operation repeated;[4] when finished, the cloth feels very harsh; to soften it, it is folded up and very well beetled.

Fourth day. A quarter of an ounce of alum and as much turmerick in powder are infused in a pint of cold water for a few hours; the beetled cloth is now spread out on grass, and exceedingly well rubbed with the above mixture; when dry (if to be coloured on both sides) it is turned, and equally well rubbed with the mixture on the other side; then dried and put by.[5]

Fifth day. This day the cloth is only well washed in cold water, and dried in the sun.

Sixth day. The fourth day's operation of rubbing both sides, etc. is repeated.

Seventh day. Wash it well in cold water, and while moist, wet it in a cold infusion of a little powdered caducay; dry it in the sun or shade.

The Malabars omit this part of the operation.

Eighth day. Take six pints of water and a pound of chay root, put them on the fire and when scalding hot put the unwashed cloth into it, to be kept in a scalding heat, stirring and turning the cloth frequently for three or four hours; the waste of water may be supplied by now and then adding to it; the cloth is suffered to remain in the liquor till cold, then wring it out half dry, and again return it into the same decoction which is now made to boil gently for five or six hours, stirring etc. as above; the fire is then to be withdrawn and the whole left to cool till next day. The cloth is now of a dirty deep brick-dust colour.

The Malabars perform only the first part of this day's work.

Ninth day. The cloth is washed in cold water, well wetted in a cold infusion of caducay and water, dried and put by, as on the seventh day.

Tenth day. Wash the cloth in cold water, and boil it gently for two hours in a decoction of a quarter of a pound of chay root in six pints of water, suffer it to cool in the decoction as before; then wring it out, dry it and put it by.

This part of the operation, as well as that of the ninth day, the Malabars omit.

Eleventh day. The cloth is to be worked about for a short time in as much water, well mixed with fresh cow-dung, as will cover it, then wrung out, and dried in the sun.

Twelfth day. The cloth is washed, spread out to the sun, sprinkled with water as it dries, for a day.

Thirteenth day. The operation is finished by washing with soap, which improves the colour; and the oftener it is washed, the brighter the colour becomes.

I have in the above pointed out whenever the Telinga operators differ from the Malabar. I believe the Telingas are esteemed the best artists: however, of this I cannot well determine, as durability, as well as the immediate appearance of the colour must be taken into consideration.

* This paper was first published in the *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.4, Ahmedabad, India, 1959.

[1] Appendix 'A'.

[2] Appendix 'B'.

[3] Roxburgh's footnote: Over the southern parts of the Coast the powdered caducay is exceedingly well boiled in water, and the strained decoction mixed with only a fourth part of milk.

[4] Roxburgh's footnote: to the southward this operation is performed in the same manner, but with only one eighth of milk to the water and caducay. Beetling the same.

[5] Roxburgh's footnote: South among the Malabars, this operation differs much from the above; it is done as follows. Take a sapan wood (Caesalpinia sappan) in shavings one ounce, water a pint and a half, mix and let them stand for two days, then boil till a third is gone; to this decoction while hot add three-quarters of an ounce of powdered alum, with this the cloth is rubbed on both sides, etc. as is done above with turmerick, etc. on the fourth, fifth and sixth day.

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It may be proper to observe, that in dyeing with these roots the heat is always gentle, it is probable that these contain some other principle, which a strong heat might extract, and debase the intended colour.

They are also used by the natives to dye brown, purple, and orange, with their various shades.

Cotton cloth, previously prepared with a solution of alum, receives from a decoction of this root and tartar, a pretty good yellow colour; but it is changed to a pale red on being washed with soap: this points out strongly the powers of an alkali on the colouring matter of this root.

To dye purple with chay roots, as practised by the natives in the Masulipatam district.

First. The cloth (suppose four yards) is to be washed in a hot decoction of the root, dried, and next day wetted in an infusion of caducay in milk and water, as practised in dyeing red.

Third day, take two quarts of clear sour conjee (rice gruel) and one pint of cassim,[6] mix them very early in the morning, and first beating off the dew, if there is any, spread out the cloth on the grass, and rub both sides on it with the above mixture as directed above with the turmerick infusion in dyeing red; this part of the operation is only done once on each side here.

Fourth day. The cloth is well washed in cold water, and boiled gently for one hour in a decoction of chay roots (say three pounds in eight gallons of water); let it remain in the decoction till cold, then wring it, and dry it.

Fifth day. It is boiled as yesterday in a fresh decoction of the roots, which is only half so strong (viz. one pound and a half to eight gallons of water); it is immediately removed from the dye, after being suffered to cool, into a mixture of fresh cow-dung and water, where it remains for the night.

Sixth day. It is exposed to the sun, and watered as it dries, etc. as for finishing the red dye.

To dye a deep but clear brown with chay root, as practised by the same people; say four yards of cotton cloth.

The cloth is first to be dyed red, as above described, till we come to the bucking in cow-dung, which is to be omitted; and in its stead, the cloth is to be well wetted in the mixture of caducay in milk and water, and dried in the sun.

Second day. Very early, the cloth is spread out, and both sides rubbed with the cassim, etc. as has already been mentioned for the purple, but with this difference, that here each side must be done twice over.

Third day. When it is well washed in cold water, and boiled gently for one hour in a decoction of the chay root, let it remain in the liquor till cold, then wring it, and half dry it; when it must be returned into the same decoction, and boiled for another hour, the operation is finished by bucking in cow-dung, etc. as for red and purple.

To dye orange with the same root, as practised by the same people; say four yards of cotton cloth.

First. Wash in a scalding decoction of the root, as for red.

Second day. Take aldecay (galls of Terminalia citrina) and the outer cover of caducay nuts, of each four ounces in powder, and infuse them in three or four pints of warm water, strain the mixture through a bit of thin rag, in which dip the cloth repeatedly till well wetted, wring and beat a little, then dry it; and repeat the wetting in the above mixture, beating and drying. Next day, dissolve two ounces of alum in a quart of water, with this wash the cloth, and put it out to dry. Next day it is to be wetted in a weak lixivium of alkaline earth (earth of cretaceous soda) and quick-lime, wrung out and dried. Next day, wash it out in cold water, and boil it once only, and for one hour, in a decoction of chay; let it remain in the liquor till cold; dry it, and put it by till next day, then finish the operation by washing with soap.

To paint the red figures on chintz with these roots, as practised by the chintz painters in the Masulipatam district.

It is necessary to observe, that for every sort of chintz, whether painted or printed, the cloth must first be bleached, then well washed out in a scalding decoction of chay root, and wetted in a cold mixture of milk, water, and powdered caducay, as practised to prepare the cloth for the red dye before mentioned; (this last part of the process is by the Malabars done with a strong decoction of the aldecay, as for the red dye). This mixture they say prevents the colours that are to be applied from running, as pounce does ink on bad paper; and it is also found that milk is absolutely a necessary part of the mixture, for an infusion or decoction of the nuts will not answer without milk. The above mentioned work occupies two days generally.

Third day. The cloth is now well beetled, and the figures traced or marked out by applying pieces of paper over the prepared cloth, that has all the outlines pricked with a pin, a small bag of finely powdered charcoal is rubbed backwards and forwards over the paper, a sufficient quantity of the powder will pass the holes in the paper to mark distinctly the outlines of the figures. When this part of the work is finished, these lines marked out by the charcoal that are to be red, yellow, or orange, with their various shades, are to be done over with a cold watery infusion of sappan wood (Caesalpinia sappan) and alum, which has been prepared a day or two (the Malabar painters boil the sappan wood, as mentioned before for dyeing); and those that are to be purple, blue, or green with their shades, are done with the martial solution, called by the Gentoos Cassim, which has already been taken notice of.

The chintz painter's pencil is the most simple that can be conceived; a small bit of bamboo or other stick, tapering to a point like a skewer, and split at the point for about one inch, with a bit of rag or a little hair tied round it about an inch from the point, in the form of a ball; this receives and retains the colour employed, and the point of the pencil is kept moist by gently squeezing the moistened ball, which is easily done by the hand that holds the pencil: with wonderful dexterity a good painter will run over a piece of cloth in this manner.

Fourth day. The operation of delineating the outlines of the figures being over, the cloth is washed in cold water and half dried, a decoction of chay root is prepared, about ten or twelve ounces in powder to each gallon of water, sufficient to cover the cloth perfectly, so as to let it be easily moved about in the liquor during the boiling, which must be gentle, and for about an hour and a half; the cloth must remain in the liquor till perfectly cold, it is then washed out in cold water, and dried.

Fifth day. The next work is to repeat the first part of the operation, viz. to wet the half finished cloth in a mixture of powdered caducay nuts in milk and water, and dry it in the sun or shade.

Sixth day. The parts that are to be of the best and brightest red are now shaded with an infusion of turmerick and alum in cold water (such as was employed on the fourth day in dyeing red) those that are to be red-purple (the literal translation of the Telinga words yerra-bannas, which is a deep brownish purple) have the light shades covered with wax, which is done with the common painting pencil above described and melted wax: when finished, these parts are to be done over with the following mixture; cassim one part, sour congee (pullagalli of the Telingas) and infusion of sapan wood, each four parts; the wax prevents this colour from tingeing the parts it adheres to: the work is dried in the shade, and put by for that day.

Seventh day. It is washed in cold water, when half dry boiled in a decoction of the roots, as on the fourth day, and when cold well wrung out, and immediately wetted in the mixture of milk, water, and caducay, as on the second day, only the proportion of milk is diminished; dried, and put by till next day.

Eighth day. The parts that are to be of the best red, as mentioned on the sixth day, have the parts that are to be shaded light, covered with wax, and over the whole of these the turmerick infusion with alum is to be applied the second time.

Ninth day. Wetted in cold water for a few minutes, and dried in the sun.

Tenth day. The parts done with turmerick, etc. as on the

[6] Roxburgh's footnote: Cassim is the Telinga name of a solution of iron in a vegetable acid, and is prepared as follows. Take Palmira toddy (juice of Borassus Flabelliformis) one gallon, into which put some broken pieces of the vitrified matter of a blacksmith's forge, and some bits of old, rusty iron, let the whole stand exposed to the sun for ten days; then pour off the liquor clear for use.

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eighth day, must be again done over with the same colour, which is the third time. The parts that are to be purple have their light shades done with melted wax, and covered with a mixture of one part of cassim and two of sour clear rice gruel.

Eleventh day. Wash it in cold water, and boil it in a decoction of chay for one hour or so, half dry it in the shade; then return it into the decoction, boil it again for some time, half dry, etc. repeating the boiling, or rather scalding, and half drying, for they must be gentle, for the whole of this day; at night it is put into a mixture of fresh cow-dung and water, and there remains till the morning.

Twelfth day. It is washed out, exposed on grass to the sun, and watered as it dries; this requires two or three days to make the unpainted parts of the cloth perfectly white again, for the chay will not stand bleaching, except where it has been fixed with alum; on such places it stands every sort of washing and bleaching, provided the process has been properly performed: those parts in the above description are the flowers etc. that were done with the infusion of sappan wood and alum, or with that of turmerick and alum, or both; neither the sappan nor turmerick infusion alone are of themselves essential for fixing the colour of this root, they serve to lighten them, but the durability depends chiefly, if not entirely, on the alum with which they were mixed.

Fifteenth day. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth having been employed to whiten and clean the cloth, it is now starched with a decoction of rice, dried in the sun and beetled, when it is ready to receive the wax, which is melted, and with a pencil or a small brush laid over every part of the cloth that is not to be blue, or green; when that is performed it is put into the cold blue vat (which must be in a proper state for dyeing) for a few minutes, then exposed to the air, dipped and exposed to the air alternately till it has received a sufficient quantity of the dye, wrung half dry and washed out in cold water; it is then put into scalding water to take off the wax (which is not injured by the operation, but serves to wax other pieces with); the cloth, or rather nearly finished chints, must now be washed with soap and cold water, and left in a weak solution of soap the whole night.

Sixteenth day. In the morning wash it out with more soap and cold water; expose it to the sun on the grass, and sprinkle it with water as it dries, at night wash it in cold water and put it by.

Seventeenth day. Wash it out in soap and water, and expose it to the sun, sprinkling it with water as it dries for two or three hours only; wash it in cold water, and dry it in the sun; the whole is now to be wetted in a mixture of milk and water, dried in the sun, and put by till next day.

Eighteenth day. Take a small quantity of aldecay in powder, boil it well in a little water, with this, when cold, the parts that are to be green (they having been already dyed blue) are painted over and dried in the shade; after which they are to be done over (fixed) with a strong solution of alum, and dried in the shade. A strong lixivium of washerman's earth (earth of cretaceous soda) is now prepared, the chints is well wetted with it, wrung out, and put by for the night.

Nineteenth day. Wash it out in cold water, and then with soap and water; then expose it to the sun and sprinkle it with water as it dries for a few hours; after it is to be washed again in cold water, and dried in the sun.

There now remains only that part of the process which prepares it for the market, viz. starching, beetling, and chanking; this last is similar to calendering, which is performed with a smooth shell rubbed backwards and forwards over the painted side of the chints, till it has acquired a very high gloss or polish.

The Telinga physicians do not give any part of the plant a place in their Materia Medica; but the Malabar physicians say 'that the roots cure poisonous bites, the cold, and the itch, and warm the constitution'.

In my comments on the Beaulieu and Coeurdoux reports published in this Journal (no.2, 1956 and no.3, 1957) I stressed that it would be dangerous to generalise on the strength of any one document, and that it was inadvisable to go further than the mere *constatation* of the use of a certain method, at a certain date, by a certain craftsman, in a certain place. The present Roxburgh account confirms the warning, and as the main function of my commentary I will stress the differences which arise from a comparison of this author's text with those of Beaulieu and Coeurdoux.

The well-known botanist's aim has been to give the process for dyeing (not discussed here), painting, or printing red with Chay-root, as practised by traditional craftsmen of the Circars. For chintz, he refers specifically to the method used in the Masulipatam area. Roxburgh feels compelled to say twice 'painting *or* printing', as though either technique was applicable to chintz, but, alas, there is no hint as to how *printing* was done, whereas the painter's pencil is described at length. It is therefore uncertain whether or not the author saw any printing being done.

Here a brief recapitulation of the text: the cloth is first bleached, then washed out in a scalding decoction of Chay-root to the effect (as he says when describing plain red dyeing) of taking out any remains of the quick-lime, etc., employed by bleachers in whitening the cloth. Then comes the well-known milk-water-caducay treatment. It is pointed out that the Malabars, on the contrary, use here aldecay. The author had told us before the aldecay is the same as galls of Terminalia citrina, and that caducay nuts are nuts of the same. If this is correct the so-called Malabars (in the contemporary Anglo-Indian sense, inhabitants of Madras-Pondicherry region) would be expected also to have employed 'cadoucaipou' (as the French called it), identified by Coeurdoux as a gall. Yet the Jesuit Father, in his report on cotton painting in Pondicherry, is very precise: caducay is used there for the above-mentioned treatment, and cadoucaipou is described as serving for the yellow colour. Thus we are here confronted with one of the first inconsistencies.

Regarding preliminary bleaching, both Beaulieu and Coeurdoux stress the necessity of only half-bleaching the cloth, avoiding quick-lime for this operation in any case. Thus the complete bleaching of the cotton followed by a treatment destined to take out all the harmful remains of the products employed for that purpose would represent, it seems, a lost work and an unnecessary expense for drugs. One of the effects of the scalding Chay-root bath would consist in a reddish tint to the cloth, which would perhaps be useful for dyeing in plain red, but most probably not for partial dyeing after the subsequent preparation with milk, water and caducay. Roxburgh being the only author reporting this operation, it may well be possible that we are here confronted with a mistaken observation.

The cloth is then beetled, and the outline of the pattern or design first traced with charcoal powder. According to final colour effects required, the outline is then worked over with solutions of alum, iron acetate, and curcuma, a special pencil being used. The description does not differ from the earlier French accounts. Then comes the Chay-root bath described by Beaulieu (but not by Coeurdoux, who most certainly made a mistake in omitting it), after which no cleaning at all is mentioned (the Beaulieu-Coeurdoux accounts having described a dung-bath here). Instead there is a repetition of the milk-water-caducay treatment. The next operation involves the application of wax resist and the pencilling-in of the aluminium, and iron mordants, alone or mixed together or with curcuma (for alum only), as we see in Beaulieu-Coeurdoux. Then comes a second Chay-root bath, followed by a further repetition of the milk-water-caducay, the application of new wax resists for new shades and the overpainting with adequate mordants and turmeric (curcuma). Afterwards comes a third Chay-root bath (Beaulieu mentions only two) and then we find the sole dung-bath of the whole process. This single special cleaning bath bleaches off all the unmordanted (unpainted) places, and here Roxburgh makes the same error as Coeurdoux, attributing to the Sapan wood a role in the production of red, whilst in reality it is used only to tint the mordant in order that the painter can see what he is doing, alum being colourless (a fact well noticed by Beaulieu).

Then comes the starching followed by the application of wax resist to the whole surface except where blue is wanted and the subsequent dyeing in the indigo vat. Coeurdoux had also placed blue dyeing at the end of the process of chintz

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manufacture, whilst Beaulieu had put it after the maddering which coloured the lines of the drawing.

It remains to pencil-in the yellow, which on blue gives green. Aldecay, which is discussed above, was used for that purpose. The chintz undergoes final washings, and is made ready for sale by starching, calendering and glazing in the way already described by the predecessors of Roxburgh. Washerman's earth is mentioned, the 'ola' of Beaulieu-Coeurdoux.

It may be added that the numerous immersions in a Chay-root bath, though costly, can be explained for the Masulipatam area, which is said to have produced the finest chintz in the whole of India. If all the colours did not come out as wanted, the dyeing had to be repeated. Furthermore, it would perhaps not have been possible to get in a practical way as many colours as desired with one bath only. Thus the need – in the case of an elaborate design – for several repetitions of the wax-resist process with consecutive dyeings.

As far as we can tell from present information, two observations in Roxburgh's report seem more or less inaccurate: the preliminary complete bleaching of the cloth, a costly and useless operation (which was also left out in Europe in the eighteenth century, the cloth being in any case bleached finally on grass); and the passage through only one dung-bath. After three madderings the whitening of the unmordanted places with the help of only one cleaning bath was surely not an easy matter.

These short remarks testify once more to the difficulty of investigating accurately traditional techniques of cotton painting in India.

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Early Coromandel group: 1600 to 1650

1
Plate 1
Floorspread: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the Persian or Indo-Persian market. From Golconda State (probably Petaboli, *alias* Nizampatam). About AD1630

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM160–1929 (neg. nos. 71765 and G973–4)

10ft 8in (325cm) × 8ft 1in (246cm). Selvage to selvage: 2ft 8¼in (82cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, brown and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

The design in the field runs horizontally along the two long sides. Along the bottom, as shown in plate 1, are two male figures in Persian costume shooting Black Partridges (*Francolinus francolinus*) and pigeons, while a third, similarly dressed, is being served with wine by a courtesan (?) wearing head-scarf and chequered gown or *jāma*. At the extreme left are two Comb-ducks or Nukhtas (*Sarcidiornis melanotus*). The rest of the ground is filled with flowering and fruiting trees of fanciful invention (including some with single outsize floral heads), and bamboo plants, and various fauna, including 'winged' deer. Along the top are two figures in Persian costume bird-shooting; a third and fourth are drinking. The rest of the ground is filled with flora and fauna already described. Surrounding the whole is a broad border with palmettes taken from contemporary Persian pile-carpet design, and reversed-scroll motives of Italianate character. The panel is composed of four separate strips of cloth sewn together (apparently before painting).

When acquired by the Museum in 1929, it was noted that 'on the back are a series of stockdating dates and data, ranging between 1639 and 1650'. The cloth being in very fragile condition, it was subsequently stitched to a linen ground, and there is now no simple way of checking the inscriptions. At one corner on the face of the cloth, however, there is a circular stamp-mark identified as that of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber (1622–68).[1] In addition there is an ink inscription in Rajasthani which reads *lak suth ri takhat pos(h)* ('This *takhat-posh* or coverlet has one lakh threads'). This evidence is consistent with the claim of the vendor (the late Mr Imre Schwaiger) that it had come from the Amber Palace, Jaipur.

Conclusions about the date of this piece are based mainly on evidence of costume. For instance, the fan-like end-pieces of the turbans appear in Persian paintings of the 1620s.[2] Italianate influence in the border is a reminder of trade contacts between Italy and South India in the sixteenth century,[3] and the fact that European mural painters were employed by at least one Deccani court.[4] The Persian carpet motifs in the border recall the existence of a settlement of Persian carpet weavers at Ellore in Golconda from the late sixteenth century onwards (see p.13). The comparatively unfaded, still luminous quality of the red dye suggests the use of Chay grown in the Petaboli region (see pp.9–10).

A similar floorspread to this one is preserved in the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad.[5]

Bibliography: Victoria and Albert Museum, *Review of Principal Acquisitions in 1929*, London, 1930, pp.70–1. John Irwin, 'Golconda cotton paintings of the early seventeenth century', *Lalit Kala*, no.5, 1959, plate II.

2
Plate 2
Part of a hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made under European (probably Dutch) patronage. From Madras-Pulicat region, Madras State. About AD1640–50. Added borders, early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 687–1898 (neg. nos. 32129 and G716).

8ft 6in (259cm) × 5ft (152cm). Without added borders: 6ft 6in (198cm) × 3ft 9in (114cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue and brownish black. Outlines black and red.

The design is composed of two main panels: the upper one depicting two lay princely figures and two boys in Indo-Persian costume; the lower, a drinking scene with two

[1] Identified by Kumar Sangram Singh, Director of Maharajah of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur.
[2] See, for example, Ghyul'yan and D'Yakonov, *Iranskie mīniatyurui v rukopīsyakh Shakh-Name leninghradskikh sobranīi*, Leningrad, 1935, pl.33.
[3] For a summary of the evidence relating to Italian trade and influence, see J. Irwin, 'Indian textile trade in the seventeenth century; Part IV, foreign influences', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no.4, 1959, pp.57–64.
[4] Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and its architectural remains*, Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series of Monographs, vol.XXXVII 1916, plates lxxv and lxxvi.
[5] J. Irwin, *op. cit.*, *Lalit Kala*, no. 5, 1959, plate II.

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Dutchmen and two women (Eurasian?). Separating the panels is a band with vases, chests and swords; and surrounding them, a border composed of smaller panels representing architectural niches or alcoves, each framing a human figure or vase or floral garlands. Along the bottom, a blue band or border filled with Indo-Persian figures interspersed with varied flora and fauna, including rams, deer, peacocks, partridges and pigeons. The hanging was painted in two sections, the join running horizontally across the middle, along the lower edge of the upper main panel. The added chintz borders are composed of the mixed fragments of four independent early eighteenth-century chintzes.

The two main figures in the upper panel are wearing somewhat cumbersome turbans with stiffly-projecting, fan-like ends – a form which first appears in Persian paintings of the 1620s and becomes common in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1642–67).[6] In the form in which it appears here it is unlikely to have been seen in India before the 1630s. The gown or *jāma* of the figure on the left is made to overlap on the left side indicating that he is a Hindu. The same figure appears to be wearing an outer coat over the *jāma*, but the details are so confused as to raise doubt whether the draughtsman was familiar with such costume at first hand. The presence of the two elegant youths (one wearing a *jāma* of conventional Turkish pattern overlapping on the right side in the Islamic manner) is a reminder that pederasty was common at the Persian and Indo-Persian courts.

Costume details of the two Dutchmen (smooth ruff, high and narrow hat, short jerkin, knee-breeches, etc.) were common wear in Holland in the 1620s,[7] but persisted at Dutch settlements in the East for another decade or more (a European wearing ruff and identical hat appears in the Windsor Castle *Shāh-Jahān-nāma* of 1657). The woman on the right is carrying a fighting-cock in the folds of her *sārī*, this affectionate treatment of fighting-birds being a common sight even today in Bali and other parts of the East where cock-fighting is still popular. The hair-do with high bun appears in contemporary Deccani painting.[8] The woman on the left, who appears to be in European dress, is serving wine from a *surāhī*. The goblet on the table is a familiar type of seventeenth-century rib-moulded European glass; and the sweet-dish is recognisable as contemporary Italian *latticinio* work. The *surāhīs* are typically

[6] Joseph M.Upton, 'Notes on Persian costume in the 16th and 17th centuries', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol.II, pt.2, New York, 1930, p.216. In addition to sources cited by Mr Upton, parallels can be found in the Leningrad *Shāh-nāma* dated 1642–51 and in the Windsor Castle *Shāh-Jahān-nāma* dated 1657, both of which show the turban in exactly the form it appears here.

[7] F. van Thienen, *Costume in the Great Age of Holland, 1600–1660*, London, 1951.

[8] Douglas Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan, XVI–XVII century*, 1958, pl.7.

[9] In 1613 the Directors of the English Company resolved that two mastiffs should be included in every ship sailing to India (India Office Archives, Court Book I, minutes dated 18-12-1613). In the following year the Company's representatives at the Mughal court wrote that among the most suitable objects for presents would be 'some curled water spaniel of the greatest size with a bloodhound or two' and that 'they would be very much welcome, for they (ie Jāhangīr and his courtiers) will hardly be persuaded that they can be taught to fetch and find things lost ...' *Letters received by the East India Company*, vol.II, 1613–15, London, 1897, p.152.

[10] For a summary of the evidence relating to the dating of the Japanese version, see J.E.McCall, 'Early Jesuit art in the Far East', *Artibus Asiae*, vol.X, no.4, 1947, pp.284–92.

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The dog is probably intended to be a European mastiff, these and other breeds having been regularly shipped to India in the early seventeenth century as gifts to Indian rulers and nobility, much coveted by them.[9]

The 'onion' domes depicted at the top are a recurring feature of the Madras school of cotton-painting and have their prototypes in Islamic architecture of the Deccan.

Some authorities have suggested that the two main panels taken together depict the visit of a European delegation to a native court, the row of vases, chests and swords being thought to represent gifts of homage. But in fact a similar row of objects appears in a hanging at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see fig.2), to which no such meaning can be attached. Hangings of this type were not usually designed to tell a single connected story, the intention being purely fanciful and decorative.

It seems probable that the lay-out of this and the New York hanging is inspired by a type of Jesuit engraving in circulation in the East, depicting the Virgin and Child in a centre panel, with a group of saints looking up at her from below, the whole being surrounded with a border of small panels illustrating the Mysteries of the Holy Rosary. In a contemporary Japanese copy of this type of engraving, the saints depicted are Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. Since they were not elevated to sainthood until 1622, it can be assumed that the prototype engraving was not in circulation before that year.[10] Engravings of this kind are likely to have been made familiar by Jesuit missionary activity at St Thomé.

It is possible that this piece is only a fragment of a very large hanging, perhaps similar to the hanging in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad, reproduced at fig.3. Both edges show signs of crude cutting, and in view of the fact that the added chintz borders are composed of eighteenth-century fragments identical to those bordering the New York piece (which also has the same horizontal join), it is likely not only that the two pieces stemmed from a common owner but that they once formed sections of the same large hanging.

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3

Plate 4a

Fragment of applied work: painted and dyed cotton. The principal pieces are from the Madras-Pulicat region, Madras State, AD1640–50.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS16–1956 (neg. no. N2488). Given by Mr Nasli M. Heeramaneck.

3ft 2in (98 cm) × 4ft 1½in (126 cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues and brownish black. Outlines black and red.

The applied pieces are laid out in the form of an arch, composed of a horizontal band of decoration supported by

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three rectangular niches on either side, each framing a human figure from the waist upwards. Above the band, in the centre, is a large niche framing two figures, and on either side of this two figures standing between vases. The costume details are mainly Mughal, but some of the headgear is Persian.

The panel in its present form was apparently made up in Europe, probably from the remains of a worn-out hanging. It is stitched to a plain cotton ground with couched silk thread, the embroiderer having added in the process a few floral sprigs of his or her own invention, the largest of which fill the spaces between the six lower niches. The outer edges are less faded than the centre: this, and the general shape, suggest that it was put together to serve as upholstery possibly for the back of a chair or the head of a day-bed.

Bibliography: J. Irwin, 'Golconda cotton painting of the early seventeenth century', *Lalit Kala*, no.5, 1959, pl.XVI.

4

Plate 3a

Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Provenance uncertain (probably Golconda). 17th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM57–1933 (neg. no. K2307). Given by Prof. K. de B. Codrington.

2ft 10in (86cm) × 1ft 8½in (52cm). Repeat 10⅜in (26·2cm) × 5½in (14cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and orange.

A pattern of small flowering plants arranged in staggered rows. At the left edge there is a selvage and traces of stitching.

This fragment may have been part of the field of a floorspread similar to no. 6 (plate 4b). The luminous quality of the red dye suggests the use of Chay grown in the Kistna delta (see pp.9–10). Indigo is used only for green.

5

Plate 3b

Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. From Madras-Pulicat region. 17th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM58–1933 (neg. no. K2308). Given by Prof. K. de B. Codrington.

2ft½in (62cm) × 9½in (24cm). Repeat 11in (28cm) × 6½in (16·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and orange.

A pattern of small flowering plants arranged in uniform staggered rows. There is a selvage at the right edge and some traces of stitching.

The fragment was probably part of a costume. The colours lack the luminosity of the previous piece (cat. no.4) and are typical of the Madras-Pulicat school.

6

Plate 4b

Floorspread: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the domestic or Persian market. The centre section is from Golconda (probably Petaboli); the applied borders, from North Deccan or Rajasthan. 17th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS122–1950 (neg. no. H1051 and 2). Given by G. P. Baker.

14ft 8in (446·8cm) × 5ft 9in (175·2cm).

Colours: red, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black. There are 2 blues and 1 violet in the border. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The pattern in the field consists of highly-conventionalised flowering-plants arranged in a half-drop repeat. The border has staggered rows of smaller poppy-like plants.

The floorspread is crudely assembled from a number of separate pieces, and it is badly stained.

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Furnishing fabrics

7
Plate 5. Colour Plate 1
Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Western India. Late 17th or early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS156–1953 (neg. no. H584). Formerly in possession of the Ashburnham family at Ashburnham House, Sussex.

8ft 1in (246·3cm) × 6ft 4in (193·2cm). Selvage to selvage 3ft $\frac{5}{8}$in (93cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 reddish browns (discoloured violet?), blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Over painting for green and orange. Glazed.

A large meandering branch, and two small ones, bearing stylised leaves and flowers, some flowers resembling carnations, marigolds and English roses. The branches repeat horizontally and grow from a high Chinoiserie rockery with clefts through which peer shepherds, sheep, hounds and rabbits. Other animals and personages roam the surface, and there are insects among the branches. The panel is made up of a full width of cotton with a narrow strip sewn to each side. The one on the right has a selvage at the outer edge only; the other is selvaged at the seam. The panel is incomplete at the top and finished with a blue band along the bottom edge. There is a resist-painted cross and circle on the blue band and also where the selvage of the left piece is joined to the centre length. These markings are presumably intended as guides for matching. The joins were made after painting.

The meandering branches resemble those growing on rolling mounds and hillocks in early eighteenth century crewel embroideries. Most of the flowers and small animals are to be found in English seventeenth-century embroidery. Some flowers are Indianised versions of iris, honeysuckle and cornflowers. The foliage, like that in crewelwork, seems to have been inspired by leaf-forms in verdure tapestries, silks and laces of the seventeenth century. The source from which the pattern was derived was probably a printed one published in England for embroideries. A considerable amount of the foliage is shaded with hatching, which points to an engraved source. When auctioned at Ashburnham House, Sussex, in 1952, there were three matching panels which are now divided between museums in India and the U.S.A.[11] Another set with the same basic design but varying in small details is preserved at the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna. One piece in the latter set is drawn in reverse (see fig.27). Since there are no borders to the Ashburnham pieces, but only a blue band along the bottom, it is probable the four panels were originally joined together and subsequently cut. All four pieces now have different measurements, but because there are two large and two small pieces they may have been cut up for bed curtains. The design is wider than the cotton on which it is painted and therefore not always conterminous with the cotton width. None of the panels match each other exactly, but the presence of a narrow selvaged strip along the outer edge of no. 7 suggests that this piece was originally at the right-hand end.

The Ashburnham sale in 1952 also included a set of four chain-stitch embroidered curtains and a palampore (fig.17), all based on the same pattern-source.[12] In contrast to the chintz version, the flowers and foliage in the embroidered pieces are simplified, and each curtain has a narrow matching border down the sides and across the bottom. One of the curtains, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (IS154–1953), bears an inscription in Gujerati characters attributable to the seventeenth century.

Bibliography: John Irwin, 'Commercial Embroidery of Gujerat in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol.XVII, 1949, pp.51–6, plate IX. John Irwin, 'Origins of the "Oriental Style" in English Decorative Art', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.XCVII, no. 625, April 1955, pp.106–14, plate II.

8
Plate 6
Part of a hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Late 17th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. No. IS121–1950 (neg. no. K1435). Given by G. P. Baker.

6ft 11in (210·7cm) × 3ft 9in (114·3cm).

[11] One is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 53.2201, the second in the Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, acc. no. 1953.123.1, and the third in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad, acc. no. 324.
[12] The embroidered curtains are divided between the same Museums that have the chintz panels. The matching palampore is in the Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York.

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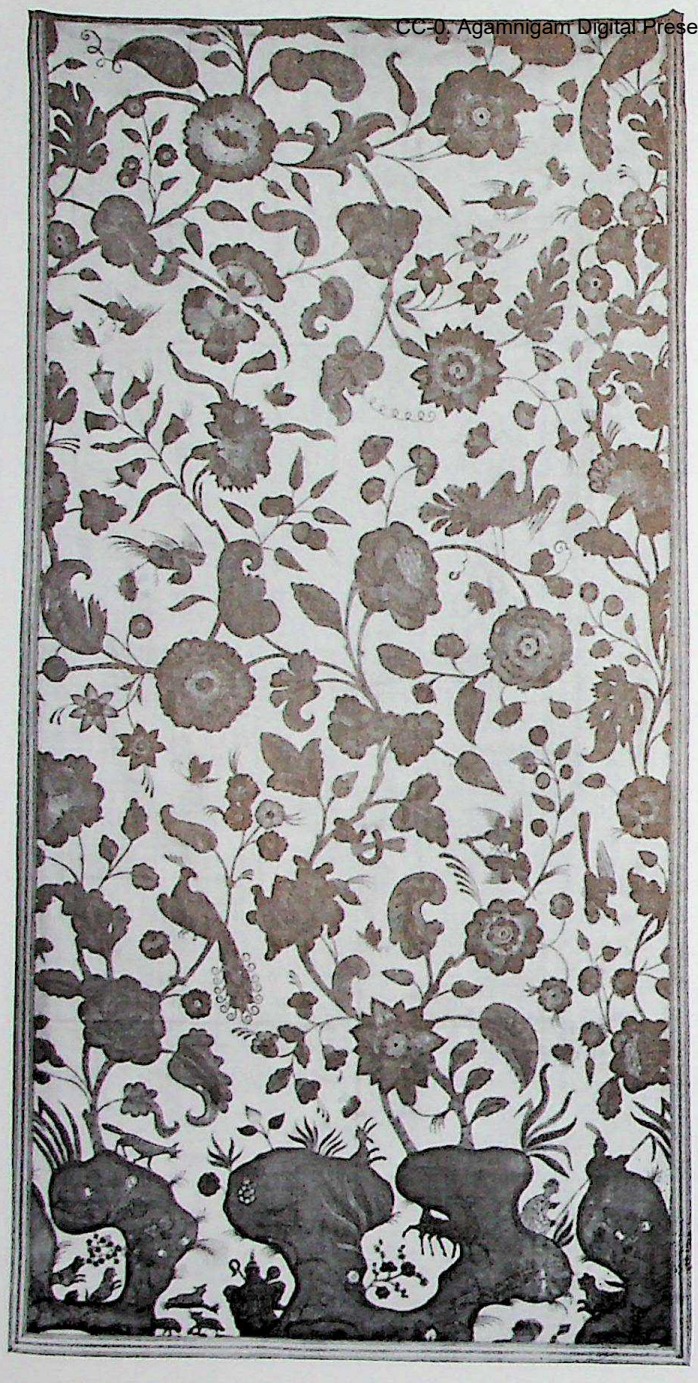

Fig. 27. Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Western India, early 18th century. 221cm × 107cm. *Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, acc. no. T9073*

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black, and a little red. Overpainting for green and red-violet.

A tall serpentine tree with exposed roots and slender branches, bearing a great miscellany of exotic and highly stylised flowers and foliage. Some resemble tulips, anemones, marigolds and an English rose. Among the secondary foliage are acorns, pears, rosebuds and pomegranates. The trunk is patterned with a floral meander which extends, in a diminished form, along the branches. At intervals along the edges, there are flattened ovals indicating where branches had been severed. The tree is poised on the two highest points of a chinoiserie rockery. On the outermost hillocks stand vases of flowering plants. The narrow border is a repeating flower and fruit meander

Fig. 28. Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Probably Madras State, 1st half of the 18th century. 238·8cm × 213·3cm. *Elinor Merrell Collection, New York*

bearing pineapples, pears, pomegranates, tulips and small blossoms. The hanging is edged with a blue band, and part of the top is missing. There is a selvage at the left side and in the lower corner a group of shots of red cotton.

Some of the flower, fruit and leaf forms on this tree can be traced to European sources. The English rose, the marigold, the acorns and the two pears are all recognisable types found in English seventeenth-century embroideries. Other features, including tulips, carnations, and one of the long dentated leaves, are reminiscent of sixteenth and seventeenth-century European silk designs. Some leaves (notably one at the lower right and another bulging one near the top) resemble those in English crewelwork and also appear at plate 5.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 7. John Irwin, 'Origins of "Oriental" Chintz Design', *Antiques*, January 1959, pp.84–7, fig.5. George Wingfield Digby, 'Lady Julia Calverley: Embroideress. Part I', *The Connoisseur*, April 1960. pp.82–8, plate 10.

9

Plate 7

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Late 17th or early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS2–1883 (neg. nos. Z797, 71308 and FG852).

8ft 10in (269·3cm) × 6ft 11¾in (212·7cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black, except for details.

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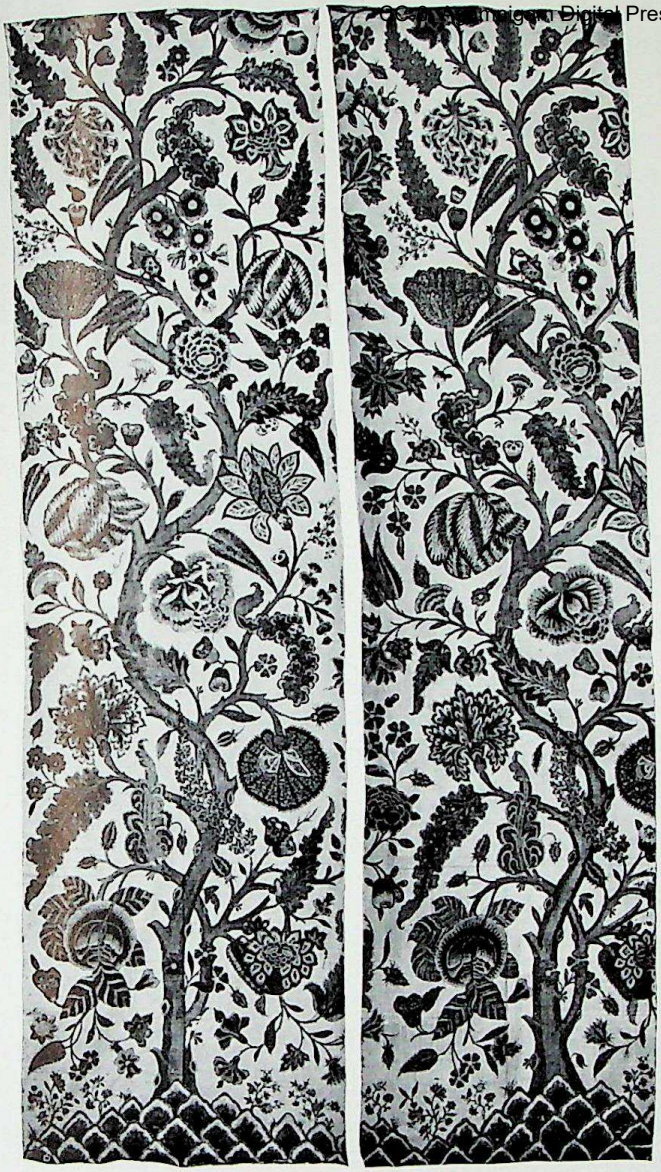

Fig. 29. Two matching panels: painted and dyed cotton. Probably Madras State, early 18th century, length 332cm. *Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, acc. no. T9109*

A serpentine tree with two main branches crossing near the top, and large flowers resembling an anemone, a peony, chrysanthemums and, possibly, a tulip. There are also clusters of nuts or fruit, delicately drawn sprays of currants, and a leafy plant with tendrils. The tree grows from a group of irregular patterned mounds with tufted peaks. Other features in the design include palm squirrels (*Funambulus Palmarum*). The border has a red ground and a repeat of three motifs: a vase of flowers, a bouquet held with a ribbon bow, and a clump of flowers growing from a little mound.

The movement of the branches is more tortuous than usual and is drawn with heavily accented black outlines and delicately drawn leaf sprays. These features and other details relate it to palampore, plate 26. The wide border with blue and white flowers, on a red ground is uncommon. The same guard border with alternating leaf and flower on a slender meandering stem appears in palampores, plates 16 and 18, but with a slight variation in flower form. For a palampore with a variant of this design but incorporating a French coat-of-arms, see fig.28.

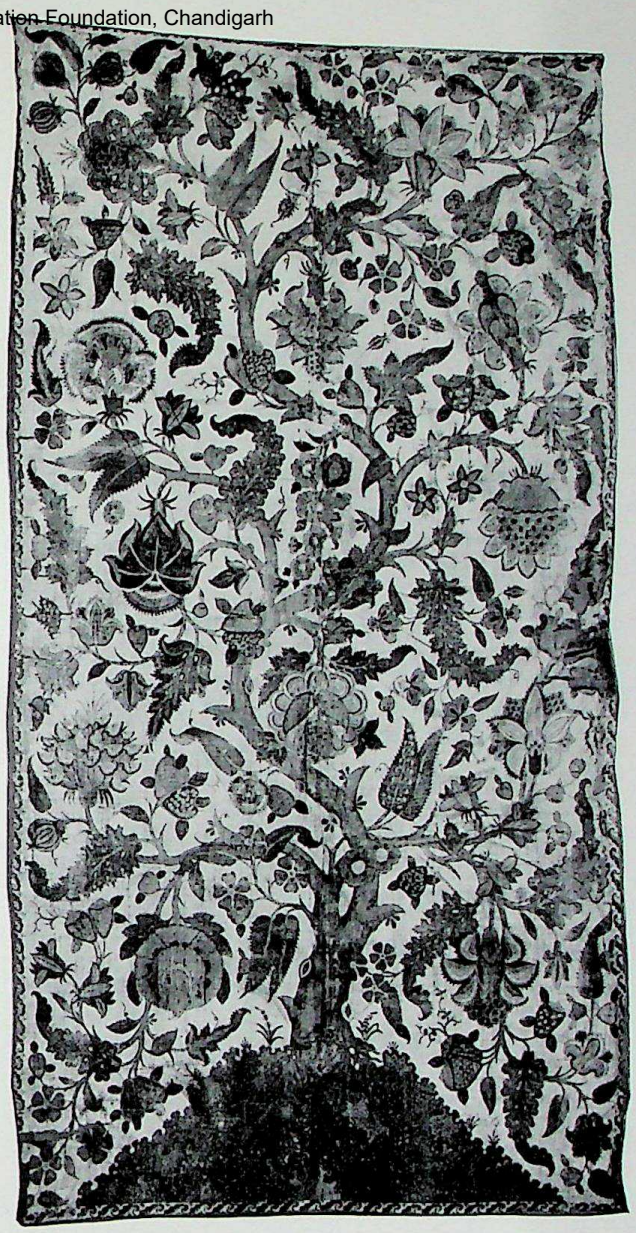

Fig. 30. Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Probably Madras State, early 18th century. 257cm × 134cm. *Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons, acc. no. 1628*

Bibliography: M. Percival, *The Chintz Book*, 1923, plate X.

10
Plate 8
Hanging or Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Late 17th or early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM49–1919 (neg. no. 71307)

Total length 7ft 4in (223·5cm). Maximum width 6ft 3in (190·5cm).
Flowering tree panel 6ft 11in (210·8cm) × 4ft 10in (147·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

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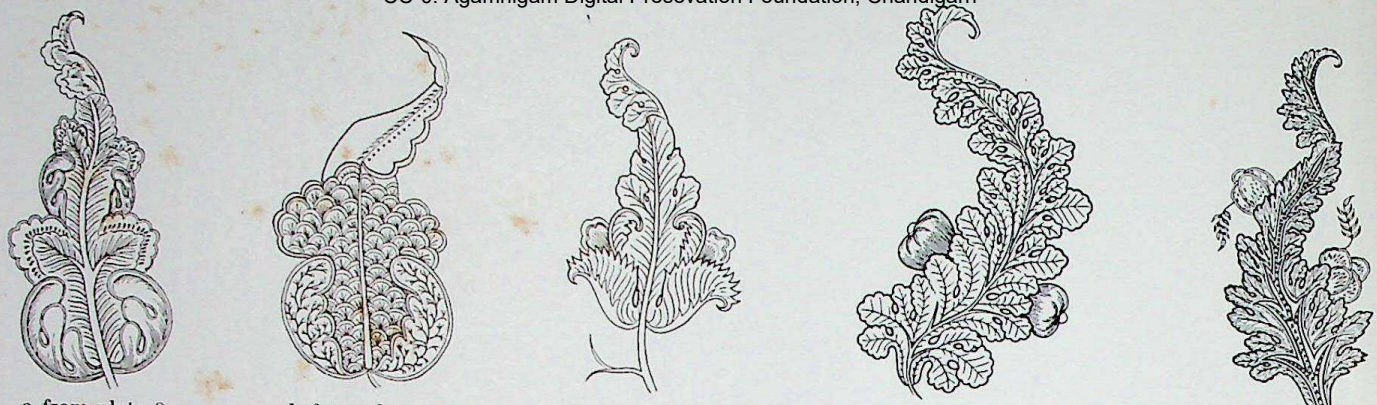

a from plate 8 b from plate 6 c from plate 9 d from plate 21 e from plate 16

Figs. 31a–j Leaf Details

A serpentine tree, with large fanciful flowers, some of them stylised and resembling a tulip, a rose, a carnation, an anemone and a daisy. It stems from a garlanded urn which has small leaf-like handles. It is set in a stylised rockery and flanked by smaller flower-filled urns. A border composed of strips from another chintz depicting nude winged figures and exotic architectural features is stitched along three sides. The wedge-shaped pieces from the upper part of the panel are used to widen the lower part.

Compare with plates 6 and 9, which have similar serpentine trunks, and in the latter case closely resembling flowers and foliage. An even closer parallel is fig.29, two of a set of five matching hangings. The tree in all five Vienna panels is identical to this piece in outline of the trunk and inner branches but there are variations in filler patterns and other details. Another variant of the same design is also in the Vienna collection (acc. no. T94409). It is probable that this tree and plate 8 were, like fig.29, originally considerably taller.

The urn in which the tree stands is derived from a form of European garden urn of the period, and the suspended garland may have originated in the rim-ornament of a similar vase. In the Victoria and Albert Museum (acc. no. IM13–1930) there is an embroidered palampore with similar floral urns except that they have a floral border visible inside the rim. This kind of floral border perhaps explains the origin of the strange floral garland poised above the central urn in the chintz.

Bibliography: John Irwin, 'Origins of "Oriental" Chintz Design', *Antiques*, Vol. LXXV, No. 1, 1959, pp. 84–7, fig.6.

11
Plate 9
Hanging or Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS119–1950 (neg. no. H1050). Given by G. P. Baker.

8ft 2in (248·8cm) × 4ft 1in (124·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 1 or possibly 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded out), and black. Outlines black and red.

A serpentine tree, with partly exposed roots, stands on a mound composed of crenated scales. It bears large fanciful and stylised flowers (some resembling roses, peonies, and carnations) and small flowers and fruits like borage, periwinkle, poppyseed and strawberries. The scales of the mound are decorated with spot, flower and seaweed patterns and small plants. There is a join of selvage edges down the centre made after painting. The top part of the tree and the borders of the palampore are missing.

This form of tree can be paralleled in Persian miniatures (see fig.5), but the miscellaneous flowers and foliage are of mixed Indian and European origin (some reminiscent of seventeenth century Western embroideries and silks). The inclusion of fruit, protruding from behind some of the large dentated leaves, is the result of the Indian cotton painter's misunderstanding of bulgy leaf forms in the European musters (see fig.31a–j). Fig.30 shows another palampore with a complete and almost identical tree. It is possible that the border fragment illustrated in G. P. Baker plate 36, left, belonged to this piece although its present whereabouts is unknown. It is very similar to a border fragment of fig.30 which bears a stamp of the United East India Company. The second fragment in Baker, plate 36, is a centre section of a variant of this serpentine tree.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 4. K. B. Brett, 'Variants of the Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Antiques*, vol.LXXV, no.3, pp.278–81, fig.1.

12
Plate 10
Part of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). About 1700.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS182–1965 (neg. no. FE2423 and FG855). Given by Miss H. Lowenthal.

6ft 10½in (210·8cm) square.

Colours: 3 reds, 2(?) violets, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, brown and orange.

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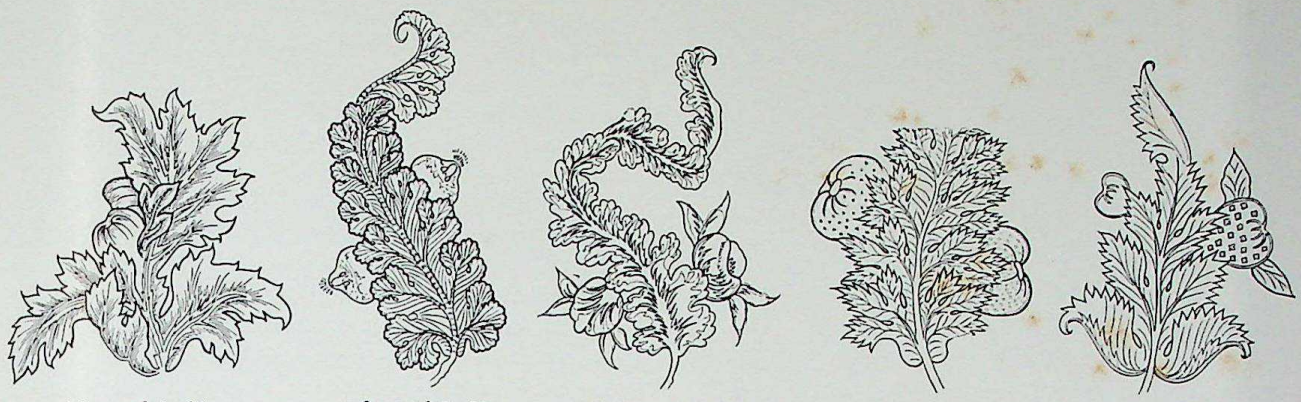

f from plate 24 g from plate 20 h from plate 39 i from plate 8 j from plate 9

A serpentine tree with exposed roots grows on a low mound composed of small pyramidal scales, with large fanciful and stylised flowers (some resembling roses, tulips and anemones) and smaller flowers and fruit, including sprigs of borage. In the lower corners are vases of flowers. The heavy meandering branch of the border has large pendulous flowers and stems from a vase in each corner The border vases are similar to those in the field but have detached rims. On the reverse side there is a faint, indecipherable heart-shaped stamp. At the selvage there are ten short lines of red brocading.

The tree is stylistically similar to plates 8 and 9, but more closely related to the former. The drawing of the tree, the convention for the stumps of sawn-off branches, the drawing of the tulip with an almost detached petal and decorated with filler patterns, and the pyramidal scales of the mound are the same as at plate 8. The vases of flowers are the same as those at plate 13, and the border is a variant of that at plate 89. The guard borders are almost identical to the outer one at plate 89 and are similar to those at plate 23.

13
Plate 11
Quilt: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch?) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 964.215
(neg. no. 67. TEX 190).

7ft 7in (231cm) × 4ft 8in (142cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A serpentine tree with flowers resembling tulips, peonies, carnations, a rose and an anemone, growing from a mossy mound and having a vase of flowers in each corner. There is a United East India Company stamp on the back, in the upper right corner. The quilt is composed of a palampore on one side and white tabby silk on the other. The quilting is done with loosely twisted bright yellow silk in running stitch and the stuffing is wool. The quilted design shows clearly on the reverse side. In the centre is a large eight-pointed medallion and in each corner a medallion segment. The intervening space is filled with diagonal lines of quilting forming a lattice pattern, and the border has large flowers on slender encircling stems.

This flowering tree is one of a large group of which plates 8 and 9 are earlier versions.[13] Its style was perhaps Dutch-inspired and remained popular in the Netherlands throughout most of the eighteenth century. The vases in the corners of the field recall an earlier conventional layout when quilt and palampore designs usually had a central medallion and four related corner motifs. The border has been designed to match the trees and flower vases. The quilting was done in Europe, otherwise the stuffing material would have been cotton, not wool.

14
Plate 12. Colour plate 2
Part of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM50.1919
(neg. no. Z.795 and FG856).

6ft 2in (187·8cm) × 4ft 4in (132cm). Border width 1ft 2in (35·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black.
Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

From a low crenated rockery grows a slender serpentine tree with large pendulous flowers, some fanciful, others resembling a tulip and a rose. A similar tree, now incomplete, grows to meet it from the opposite end. In these trees two types of foliage are combined – leaves with large dentations, and also those of the thin, wavy, pointed type. Sprays of small flowers fill the intervening space. The branches are extended diagonally so that the topmost flower sprays at one end nearly touch the mound at the other. Beneath each tree stand two vases of flowers. The border (now detached, incomplete and in fragments) has serpentine treelets in the same style growing from a rockery. The outer guard border is a repeating floral

[13] One of two closely related palampores in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no.17.98, is illustrated by K.B.Brett, 'The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, No.III, 1957, fig.4.

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Fig. 32. Embroidered slip. English, early 17th century style. Length 37cm. *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T80-19925*

meander with its own narrow borders resembling knotted ribbon. There is no inner guard border. Seven of the fragments are from borders and three are from the missing end of the tree design.

This is one of the most beautiful examples of chintz painting in the collection. The graceful arrangement of the two flowering trees is an unusual one but the flowers, foliage, crenated rockery and vases of flowers are related to those in other flowering-tree chintzes. The mound is somewhat similar to plate 9, and the flowers and leaves to plates 8 and 9. The shading on the branches runs down both sides as at plates 23 and 24. The vases are simplified versions of those at plate 8. Among the border fragments are two which could be part of the top and bottom borders of this palampore, but it is by no means certain that all the fragments belong to it.

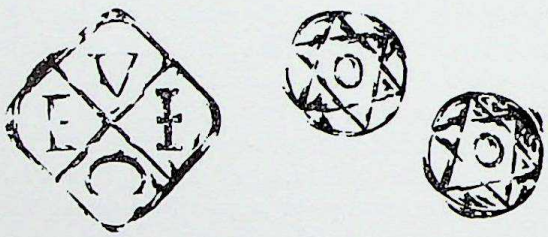
15
Plate 13
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS67–1880 (neg. no. 15942, detail 63AA543).

12ft 1in (368·1cm) × 7ft 5in (226cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, and probably for orange and brown.

From each end a flowering tree with a short upright trunk grows on a low scaled mound. The symmetrically arranged branches envelope a central floral medallion. The large flowers are highly stylised. Carnations and prunus blossoms are recognisable among the small sprays. Butterflies are interspersed among the foliage and there are vases of flowers in the corners. The palampore is composed of two selvage to selvage widths of cotton joined down the centre after painting. In the upper right corner there is a United East India Company stamp and two circular seals containing what appear to be two triangles forming a six-pointed star with a small circle in the centre. At the edge, near the seals, there are six pairs of short brocaded shots of red cotton.



The treatment of flowers and foliage is closely related to plate 8, particularly the outlining of certain flowers and leaves with a close line of small circles. This convention also occurs at plate 74a. The vases of flowers in the corners are the same as those on the embroidered palampore shown at fig.18b. The small flowering plants which compose the central medallion are the same as the upper part of the bouquets in the corner vases, and were probably pounced from the same perforated drawing.

Bibliography: W.S.Hadaway, *Cotton painting and printing in the Madras Presidency*, 1917, fig.26.

16
Plate 14
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS36–1950 (neg.no.H1120). Given by G.P.Baker.

10ft 1in (307·3cm) × 8ft 2in (248·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and blue-violet.

A serpentine flowering tree stems from a small diaper-patterned vase with detached rim. Some of its flowers are purely fanciful; others resemble an anemone, a chrysanthemum and a tulip. The vase has two small leaf-like

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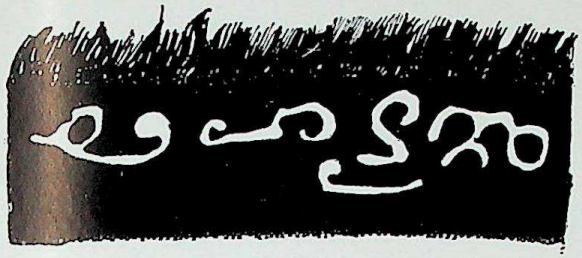
handles and stands between the two low peaks of a scaled mound. A miniature banana tree and other plants grow on the mound. The border is of repeating flower-palmettes with a large curving leaf on either side and many small flower sprays. The whole fabric is edged with a blue band, which bears a resist inscription in crude Telegu characters.



This tree is a close variant of plate 15, but drawn in reverse and somewhat extended. At the top are two flowerheads which do not occur in the latter and there is also additional foliage including two large dentated turn-over leaves on the lowest branches. There are also changes in the positions of some flowers. The main difference between the two palampores lies in the drawing of the two trees. In this panel there is far more imaginative use of filler patterns and a greater concern for detail and draughtsmanship than at plate 15, for example. The arrangement of the branches and their principal flowers in both palampores is paralleled in seventeenth-century English embroidered slips for applied work (see fig.32). The influence of herbals is also traceable here.

Bibliography: G.P.Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 35. K.B.Brett, 'The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no. 3, 1956, pp.45–57.

17

Plate 15

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.14 (neg. no. ROMA2087 and 63AA168). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft 7in (261·5cm) × 6ft 9in (205·6cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black.

A serpentine tree similar to the previous one, except that it has exposed roots and scroll-motifs on trunk and branches, rises from a scaled mound. Birds and squirrels are interspersed among the branches. Two peacocks stand on the scaled mound which sports a miniature banana tree and other small plants. The scales of the mound have

scalloped edges and most of them are in-filled with delicate foliage patterns. The border is a serpentine floral branch with large flowers stemming from a vase in each corner to smaller flower-filled vases in the centre of each side. The guard borders have repeated meanders of small flowers, trefoil leaves, and tendrils, and the whole fabric is edged with a band of strong blue. A Telegu word is reserved in white against the blue (the same word recurs on the palampore, cat. no.19).

The tree is a reversed and modified version of plate 14, but it gives the impression of having been compressed into a smaller space than originally intended. The branches are shorter, making the flowers seem larger. There is considerable difference in drawing between the two palampores. Here the outlines are drawn only in black, instead of black and red, and the draughtsmanship is neither as skilful nor as detailed. In both pieces the tips of the large dentated leaves are treated as though detached, probably the result of a distortion caused by constant re-copying. The large fanciful flowers, which appear in both chintzes, are debased forms of similar flowers at plate 1. The border is similar as at plate 16, but contracted. The guard borders are almost identical with those at plates 17, 71, and 72.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, No. 3, 1956, pp.45–57, fig.5. K.B.Brett, 'Variants of the Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Antiques*, vol. LXXV, no. 3, 1959, pp.278–81, fig. 2.

18

Plate 16. Colour plate 3

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.13 (neg. no. ROMA2552 and 63AA167). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

12ft (365·6cm) × 8ft 5in (256·4cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, dull yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Gilded.

A serpentine tree with exposed roots and scroll-patterned trunk and branches, rising from a high scaled mound. It has large fanciful flowers, many small sprays, and other flowers resembling peonies and chrysanthemums. Two peacocks and shrubs bearing spiky foliage appear on the mound. The design is richly embellished with applied gold leaf. The whole fabric is edged with a band of blue with an illegible Telegu inscription reserved against it. There is a large tear across the upper left corner.

This tree is stylistically related to plates 14 and 15, but its branches are extended to make the tree fit the very

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large panel. This has been only partly successful. Many additional flower sprays have been added to fill the remaining space including a nine inch strip down each side. The flower sprays serving this purpose are more varied than usual (cf. plate 17 dated 1764). The more fanciful flowers are debased descendants of seventeenth-century prototypes (cf. plate 1), the mound is an enlarged version of the similar one at plate 15 and the two peacocks are repeated but here they stand beside the fish ponds. The border is similar to plate 15 but has been attenuated to fit the larger panel.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan Number L2689.4, Catalogue Number 20.
Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Antiques*, vol. LXXV, 1959, pp.278–81, fig.4.

19
Plate 17
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the Dutch market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Dated 1764.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.4
(neg. no. ROMA2095). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

10ft 9½in (328·8cm) × 7ft ½in (214cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow (barely visible), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

A slightly serpentine tree with outspread branches and partly exposed roots growing from a small jagged hillock. The branches repeat halfway and there is repetitious use of flower and foliage clusters. The whole fabric is edged with a blue band, the latter having two Telegu words reserved in white against the blue (the same word recurs on the palampore, cat. no.17). The letters VOC (being the monogram of the Dutch East India Company, Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) are stamped on the back near the top and above is the letter 'B' (standing for Batavia, Dutch headquarters in the East), and below them the date 1764.

This is a very puzzling piece since its seemingly early features are inconsistent with the late date. It can be instanced as an example of the conservatism of Dutch taste (see p.21). The repeats in the design were obtained by the re-use of small perforated patterns sometimes reversed or placed in a different order. This method of building up a branched design is a feature of English crewel work curtains of the early eighteenth century. In the leaf and flower treatment it is related to plates 14, 16 and 20. It has some characteristics of plate 47, particularly the intense blue and the way the resist is applied in some areas. The guard borders are almost identical with those in plates 15, 71 and 72.

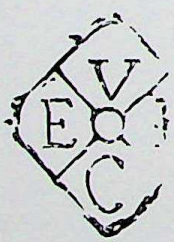
20
Plate 64a
Panel composed of a pair of Hangings: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). 18th century, first half.

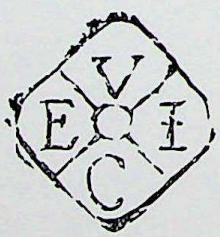
Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS135–1950
(neg. no. K1427). Given by G. P. Baker.

8ft (243·8cm) × 9ft 8in (294·5cm). Selvage to selvage 3ft 4⅝in (103cm). Warps and wefts in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

Two identical serpentine trees poised above a vase. The latter with its rim drawn as a flat oval. The trees have large flowers resembling tulips, peonies, chrysanthemums and anemones. A parakeet perches on the lowest branch. The vases stand between low, peaked, scaled mounds on which grow miniature banana trees. The border, attached to the sides and bottom, has a matching design. The panel is composed of two widths of cotton formerly joined after painting. There is a United East India Company stamp in the top corner of the left half.





Several flowers in the design are debased versions of those appearing at plates 8 and 9, and there are also parallels in some of the foliage. The shading of the trunks is similarly treated to the branches at plate 58. It is made up of two hangings sewn together. The matching border, which does not fit, is from a palampore probably of the same design.

21
Fragments of Palampores or Hangings joined in a strip: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). Mid-18th century or a little earlier.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM52–1919
(neg. no. Z1191).

6ft 6½in (199·3cm) × 7½in (19cm). Warps and wefts in pairs.

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Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, orange, and red violet.

The two largest fragments are from palampores with flowering trees having fanciful flowers and dentated leaves.

The flowers and foliage are similar to those at plate 64a, which is also painted on a cotton with paired warps and wefts.

22
Plate 18
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM1–1937 (neg. no. 77616).

11ft (335·3cm) × 7ft $1\frac{3}{4}$in (217·8cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2? blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red.

Slender serpentine branches with stylised flowers terminating in a trailing root on a low, scaled mound. The large flowers resemble tulips, anemones, roses and peonies. The guard borders have repeated floret and leaf motifs on a very slender stem with tendrils. A small stamp-mark with circular outline has penetrated through the cloth and is faintly visible on the front, near the bottom left-hand corner.[14]

This is a somewhat unusual variation of the flowering-tree theme. A parallel version but with two branches is preserved in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden. The trailing root is a common feature in seventeenth-century English embroideries and derives from illustrated herbals and occurs on embroidered 'slips' intended for applied work (see fig.32).

The border is similar to plate 26, and to the Leeuwarden palampore already mentioned. All three have the same guard borders but with varying flower forms. On this palampore the leaves run in the opposite direction on the outer guard border to that on the inner. There are some similarities between this design and plate 19 especially the drawing of the foliage and in the colours, although irregular fading of this piece makes colour comparison difficult.

Bibliography: Donald King, 'Textiles', *Connoisseur Period Guide, Stuart Period 1603–1714*, 1957, pp. 119–34. Plate 76(A).

23
Plate 19
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM2–1937 (neg. no. 77617 and X1072).

10ft 10in (330cm) × 7ft (213·3cm).

[14] As the cloth is at present sewn to a linen ground within a large frame, it has not been possible to examine the underside and thus ascertain the exact form of the stamp-mark.

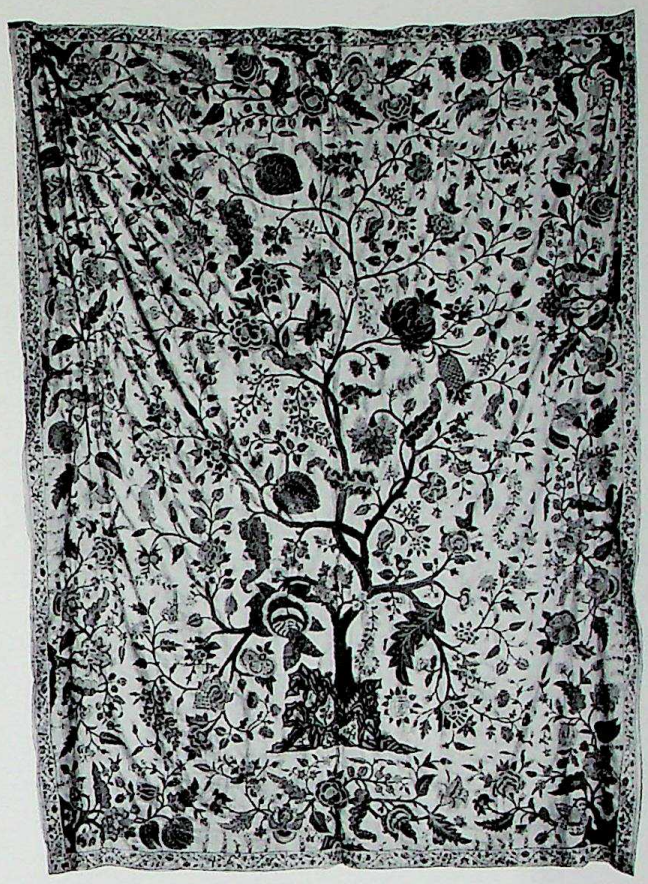

Fig. 33. Palampore: cotton, embroidered with coloured silks in chainstitch. From Gujarat, 1st half of 18th century. 338cm × 260cm approximately. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 57.168*

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

A serpentine tree with exposed roots and branches bearing single large flowerheads. The latter include vague likenesses to the forms of rose, tulip, anemone or peony. The roots trail limply over a high peaked mound which has, on either side of it, a large cornucopia filled with flowers.

This version of the flowering tree, with stunted branches and flowers enormously exaggerated, seems to reflect a Dutch taste for flamboyance. There is another example of the same design in the Eecen collection in that country.

The style of drawing is somewhat similar to plate 18, and the markings on the tree trunk are related to those on the tree at plate 71.

24
Plate 20
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Possibly Western India. 18th century, second quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS136–1950 (neg. nos. H1048 and X1270). Given by G. P. Baker.

9ft 4in (284·4cm) × 7ft 6in (228·5cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and violet.

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A serpentine tree with partly exposed roots growing from a conventional chinoiserie rockery. It has flowers resembling roses, tulips, a peony and a carnation. The border is filled with European-style garlands, and in each corner a tuft of pointed leaves.

This design has features in common with plate 21 including the method of shading the trunk with vertical lines at the edges: the treatment of the large dentated leaves and the repetition of one of the hanging flower-sprays. The distinctive tuft of leaves in each of the four corners is also a feature of plate 21 and the cotton for both has paired warps.

An Indian chainstitch embroidered bedspread (see fig.33) has the same design but in somewhat different proportions and with several deletions and additions in flowers and foliage. The outer guard border of the embroidery is the same as those on the chintz but reversed. The flower spray at the lower left edge, just above the rose, recurs at plates 14 to 17.

25

Plate 21. Colour plate 4

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. From Western India. 18th century, second quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 961.7.6 (neg. no. 61AA327).

8ft 10¼in (270cm) × 7ft 3in (221cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

A serpentine vine-covered tree with short exposed roots bearing an illogical combination of large dentated leaves and comparatively small flowers. The European-inspired garlands of the unusually wide border are partially Indianised. In each corner there is a tuft of long pointed leaves reminiscent of the pineapple plant. The brown glazed calico used to back the palampore has been allowed to overlap the front and create an outer plain border.

The absence of any mound or hillock and the smallness of the flowers are unusual features in flowering-tree palampores. This may reflect a temporary change in taste and have resulted from a special order for smaller flowers. The particular flowerheads used in this design (rose, peony, anemone and carnation) were more often depicted very large. The four large dentated leaves left to dominate the design have close parallels at plate 20. The tufted leaves in each of the four corners of that piece recur here as pineapple leaves. Compare looping leaves in border with plate 57 and fig.22. The backing of the palampore, with calico turned forward to form a border, is a feature common to the curtains of the David Garrick bed, fig. 16. The backing has faded in vertical streaks indicating that the palampore was used for some time as a curtain. This is the only chintz in the collections in which the warp ends appear to be in loom state. A Western India origin is attributed mainly because of the sparseness and lightness of the indigo-blue, the fact that it has been used almost entirely as a ground for green, and because the quality of the colour resembles that in colour plate 1. The backing has now been removed.

26

Plate 22

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. Probably 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.11 (neg. no. ROMA2088). Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection. Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft 8½in (265·3cm) × 7ft 3in (220·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded). Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A naturalistic tree with large stylised flowers (six of them palm tree heads) and elaborate sprays of foliage and small flowers. Interspersed among the branches are two large birds, two pairs of squirrels (*Funambulus Palmarum*), and two cloud-like flights of small birds. The tree grows from a rocky landscape with peacocks, two 'crowned' lions, sheep, rabbits, duck and other fauna. There are also five pairs of human figures in late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century European costume among the rocks; one pair is beside a European bed of the same period. Much of the foliage in the border has wispy tendrils and here and there are small trumpet flowers and bunches of currants. The guard borders are very small repeated flower sprigs.

This is an unusual version of the flowering-tree design. The main features, such as the very decorative use of palm tree heads as flowers and the elaborate sprays of foliage, are not found in other chintzes which have so far come to light. Some flowers are distantly related to fanciful kinds at plate 9, and the same flying squirrels occur at plate 7. For the treatment of the foliage in the border compare plate 23. The peacocks are similar to those in early eighteenth-century chintzes in applied work fragments (see plates 154a and b). The tight narrow guard borders on the other hand recall those in palampores of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan number L2689–6, catalogue number 35.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'Chintz – an influence of the East on the West', *Antiques*, December, 1953, pp.480–83. T.A.Heinrich, *Art Treasures in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Toronto, 1963, p.151.

27

Plate 23

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.17 (neg. no. ROMA2097.) Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection. Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

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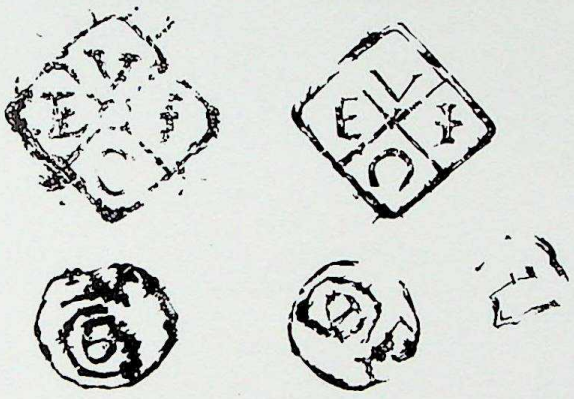
10ft 5in (317·5cm) × 6ft 2in (187cm).
Added border × 1ft 5⅜in (44cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, dull yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green, reddish orange, reddish violet and dark grey.

An angular tree, with flowers resembling roses, anemones, magnolias, auricula and tulips, growing from a high peaked and pierced rocky mound. A slender flowering vine entwines the main branches and on the mound are chrysanthemums, lilies, and a miniature date palm and banana tree. The border is a meandering branch, with large flowers, stemming from corner urns; the guard borders are



a repeating flower meander with trefoil leaves and tendrils. On the reverse side, near the upper left corner is a United East India Company stamp, and adjacent to it an indecipherable circular seal. There is a similar circular seal and a small undecipherable symbol near the lower left corner. The right border is missing and has been replaced by a slightly shorter one with arabesque flower sprays. In the lower right corner of it there is a United East India Company stamp. At the selvage in the lower left corner of the palampore there are five short lines of brocading each composed of four paired shots of red cotton. In the upper right corner of the sewn-on border there are similar lines of brocading with white cotton.

This design reflects a revived taste for chinoiserie and is clearly influenced by contemporary Chinese embroidery or wallpaper, see fig.34. Flowers and foliage are still in the Westernised chintz tradition and are apparently drawn from more than one source since they vary considerably in style. For instance the hatched shading of some flowers points to an engraved source. Another example is an angular upright branch, which does not occur elsewhere in the design. The clump of lilies growing on the mound are almost identical with those in the Chinese embroidery in fig.34. The border design has parallels in Dutch and English marquetry of the late seventeenth century, especially the drawing of the corner urns, which are clearly patterned and hatched to simulate the grains of different kinds of wood. Many leaves have been given surface markings suggesting burling.

This palampore is related to plate 24. Two technical points in common are the black outlines and the manner of shading branches and foliage. There are also stylistic

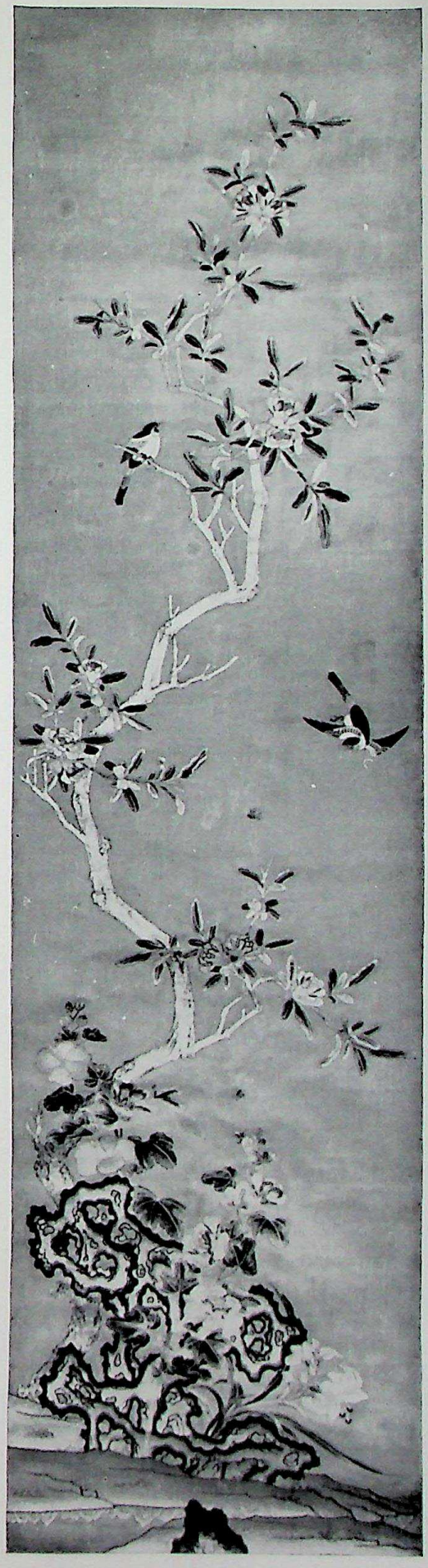


Fig. 34. Embroidered panel. Chinese, early 18th century style. 165cm × 41cm. *Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 956.138*

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similarities in the notched trunks, the flower sprigs on the entwining vine, and the long, pointed, rippling leaves in the border. Compare the border to plate 76, which has the same urns and a similar tulip and rose. The guard borders are repeated on an embroidered tree palampore in the Victoria and Albert Museum (IS29–1889) and are similar to the outer guard border at plate 89.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Journal of Textile History*, No. 3, 1956, pp.45–57, fig.1. K.B.Brett, 'Variants of the Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz', *Antiques*, vol.LXXVII, 1960, pp.280–83, fig.1.

28
Plate 24
Part of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS50–1950 (neg. no. X1266). Given by G.P.Baker.

6ft 4in (193cm) × 4ft 1½in (125·7cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and red violet.

A serpentine tree with flowers resembling tulips, a rose, a carnation, an anemone and a spray of three lilies growing from a small jagged and pierced chinoiserie rockery. Tufts of small flowers sprout from its trunk and branches and beside it are two flowering plants. The upper part and the borders are missing.

The tree has characteristics found at plates 23 and 25 but is more closely related to the former and their similarities have been discussed there. The sprouts on the trunk, resembling those on an entwining vine, are also paralleled in plates 23 and 25 and the same spray of lilies appears in the latter.[15] All three palampores are drawn with a black outline.

29
Plate 25
Part of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS138–1950 (neg. no. Z749). Given by G. P. Baker.

5ft (152·3cm) × 3ft 8in (111·7cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

A clump of bamboos entwined with creepers growing from a chinoiserie rockery. Several flowers resemble peonies and chrysanthemums, and there is a spray of three lilies, and clumps of spiky foliage. Beside it is a drooping plant. Part of the top, the bottom, and the borders are missing. There is a centre seam where selvage edges have been sewn together after painting.

The design is stylistically related to plates 23 and 24 and this has been noted in the comments on those palampores. The late Harry Wearne gave an almost identical piece to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. no. 28.78.4), apparently the same as that illustrated by G.P.Baker, plate 1, except that it does not have a border sewn across the top. The horizontal join across the rockery is the same.

30
Plate 26
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.6 (neg. no. ROMA2107). Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection. Given by Harry Wearne.

8ft 4in (254cm) × 7ft ¼in (214cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Very faded.

A serpentine tree with five large flowers and sprays of small flowers growing from a chinoiserie rockery with deer. The border has a red ground.

The tree is an uncommon type, being more strenuously serpentine than usual. The style of drawing, on the other hand, with heavily accented black outline, has parallels in other chintzes in both the London and Toronto collections (especially plate 7). The original crevice convention of the chinoiserie rockery has here degenerated into a series of meaningless holes or openings. The border recurs at plate 18, except that there is some variation in the flower-drawing. The guard borders are about the same at plate 7 and those at plate 18 are a variant of this pattern.

31
Plates 27, 28a and b and 29a and b.
Bedspread and various related fragments, including pieces of a palampore, a curtain, hangings and valances: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably English) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS75, 76, 76A and B and 77(1–22)–1950 (neg. nos. X1272, FG88, FG889, 65TEX42 and 43). Given by G. P. Baker.

Bedspread (IS75–1950) 10ft (304·8cm) × 10ft (243·8cm)
Hanging or curtain (IS76A–1950) 6ft 2in (187·8cm) × 3ft 8in (111·8cm)
Narrow hanging (IS76B–1950) 7ft 2in (218·3cm) × 1ft 6½in (47cm)
Valances, average width 11½in (29·3cm)

Colours: 2 reds, 2 blues, violet, dull yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The bedspread design (plate 27) is a serpentine tree with heavy trunk, sharply tapering branches, and large flowers

[15] A flowering tree on an embroidered palampore in the Victoria and Albert Museum, IS29-1889, bears the same spray of lilies.

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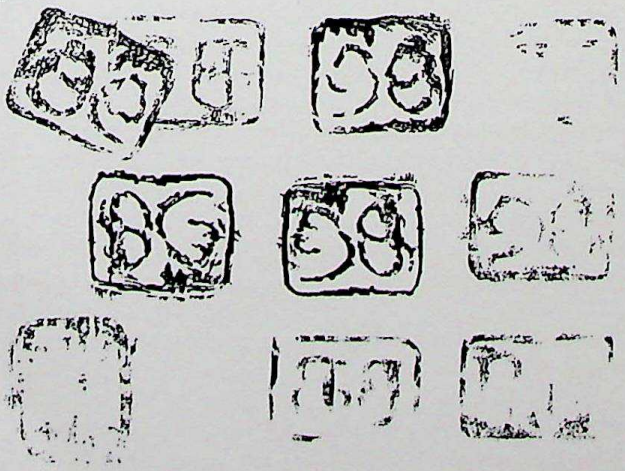
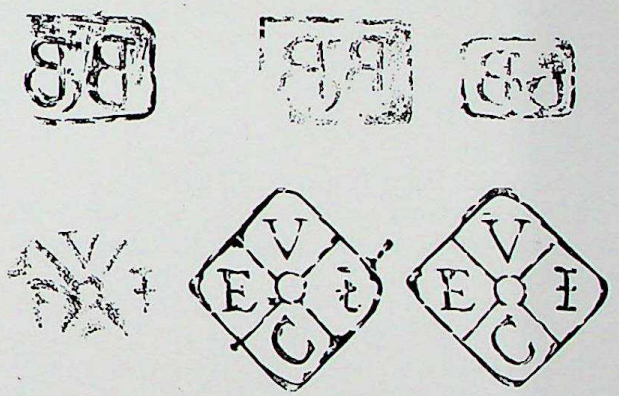
Fig. 35. Valance: painted and dyed cotton. Madras State. From the Garrick Bed (see Fig. 16). *Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. W70(f)–1916*

resembling peonies, chrysanthemums and anemones. The tree grows on a grassy mound, with partly exposed roots. A flowering plant with cornucopia-like root trails across the mound. The two borders are floral meanders and the bottom corners patched with related material. Apart from the bedspread there are twenty-five loose pieces of similar or related design. These pieces include the upper part of a palampore, with a border of treelets (plate 29a), fragments of a large bed-curtain matching the bedspread, several hangings or window curtains (plate 28a) and a narrow hanging (plate 28b), all with flowering branches, and four complete valances. The last, with a running pattern of two alternating treelets matching the border on the palampore fragment, are bound with linen tape (plate 29b). In the lower right corner of one valance (IS77 3/22–1950) there are seventeen short lines of brocaded red cotton. Eleven pairs of similar brocaded lines appear on a curtain fragment (IS77 10/22–1950). One curtain fragment (IS77 8/22–1950) bears two impressions of a United East India Company stamp and a fragment of a hanging (IS77/22–1950) bears another. Several pieces bear impressions of one or the other of two different stamps, each with two Tamil letters. In some instances both stamps appear on the same piece.





The tree, the mound and the birds have some resemblance to palampore no.33, at plate 31. Several of the border flowers also appear in the border of palampore no.79, plate 76 and apparently derive from bouquets in the set of twelve engravings published by Robert Furber in 1730 (figs.45, 47, 49, 51, and 53). A case in point is the flower with leaves composed of iris petals, the result of the Indian painter being unfamiliar with the iris depicted in the June engraving (fig.49). The same misunderstanding occurs in no.79. There are also resemblances between flowers in the bottom border and the large flowers in the border of no.79. The drawing of the tree's foliage and the shading of the trunk are the same as on palampore no.27, plate 23. In this design as well as in nos.27 and 79 (bouquets only) the outlines are drawn in black. The bedspread was originally a narrow bed curtain and matches the fragments of a wide bed curtain. The pieces in this group may originally have constituted a common set of bed furnishings and wall hangings and/or window curtains but variations in the design suggest the possibility of more than one set.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plates 2 and 24.

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32

Plate 30

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS30–1966 (neg. no. FG1211).

10ft 3in (312·3cm) × 8ft 11in (271·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and brown.

A serpentine tree with exposed roots trailing over a low mound has flowers resembling peonies, chrysanthemums and roses. The border has two twisted stems or cords with little sprouts. At intervals flowering plants with roots resembling celery are inserted in the twists.

The arrangement of the branches somewhat resembles those at plate 31, and similar heavy shading down both sides of the trunk and branches can be seen at plates 23 and 24. Some details (eg. the rose with a large leaf falling in front of it, and the large dentated leaves) derive from earlier chintzes such as at plates 8 and 10. A variant of the border occurs at plate 90.

33

Plate 31

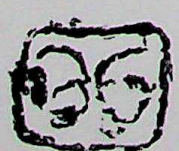
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.12 (neg. no. ROMA2086). Gift of Mrs Harry Wearne.

9ft 8in (294·6cm) × 6ft 10in (208·1cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black and red.

A serpentine tree, with partly exposed roots, and a heavy tapering trunk. Its slender branches have large flowers resembling peonies and chrysanthemums. Birds, butterflies, squirrels, and insects are interspersed among the branches. The trunk is decorated with elliptical motifs. The mound is peopled with birds, rabbits, and deer and trailed by a plant which grows from a cornucopia-like root. A United East India Company stamp is visible on the back, near the lower right corner, and near it there is an undecipherable seal mark.



This tree is stylistically related to plate 27, but has considerably less secondary foliage, and the convention so often found on the trunks of flowering trees to suggest stumps of sawn-off branches has been made into a decorative pattern.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'The Harry Wearne Collection of Painted and Printed Textiles', Part One, *Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*, University of Toronto, September 1951, no. 17, pp. 7–9.

34

Plates 35 and 36 and fig. 35

Part of a Set of Bed Hangings which belonged to David Garrick: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the English market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Early 1770s.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. W70(A–K)–1916 (neg. nos. Z1171–3). Given by H. E. Trevor, a direct descendant of David Garrick's brother George.

Curtains:
W70a–1916: 6ft 11½in (212cm) × 4ft 7½in (141cm)
W70b–1916: 7ft (213cm) × 8ft ½in (245cm)
W70c–1916: 6ft 10in (208cm) × 8ft 1in (245·3cm)
W70d–1916: 8ft 7in (261·3cm) × 5ft 3¾in (162cm)
Valances:
W70e–1916: 8ft 7in (261·3cm) × 1ft 5½in (44·5cm)
W70f–1916: 6ft 1½in (186·5cm) and 5ft 2in (157·5cm) (each part) 1ft 3in (38·2cm)
W70g–1916: 8ft 2in (248·8cm) × 1ft 3½in (39·5 cm)
W70h–1916: 6ft 6in (198cm) × 1ft 5¼ in (43·8cm)
W70i–1916: 6ft 1½in (186cm) × 1ft 5½in (44·5cm)
W70j–1916: 6ft 7in (200·6cm) × 1ft 3in (38·2cm)
W70k–1916: 3ft 9in (114·2cm) × 1ft 4½in (42cm)
Treelet repeat 4ft 11½in (151·17cm)

All warps and wefts are in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues; yellow and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green, browns, and orange. Not all pieces have two blues; i, f, and j have one blue.

The set consists of a pair of wide and a pair of narrow curtains and seven lengths of valances. The flowering trees on the curtains have straight trunks and vigorously serpentine branches with zigzag markings, and bear flowers resembling roses, peonies and chrysanthemums and there are sprays of small flowers. The trunk and branches are entwined with an angular twisting vine bearing clumps of spiky foliage. The trees on the narrow pair (a and d) are the same but one is the reverse of the other. They grow on low craggy mounds surrounded by many flowering plants. The narrow borders are branch meanders bearing flowers and spiky foliage and terminating in knotted ribbon in the lower corners. The trees on the wide pair (b and c) are also the same and similarly reversed. They are extended versions of the tree in a and d, to which more branches have been added.

The narrow pair (a and d) are composed of two lengths of cotton joined after painting. The seam is near the middle of the right half of each curtain. The top part has been cut off both and d has two border pieces sewn across the bottom. The wide pair (b and c) are composed of a narrow

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centre strip of cotton to which a much wider piece is sewn at each side. On both curtains the mounds and the topmost branches are cut off, and there are pieces missing at the sides. Both pairs are lined with brown cotton turned forward to form a border.

The valance design is a repeating one of a treelet growing on a flat mound, and with branches which cross and trail out horizontally to each side. It appears on W70f, g, i and j–1916. The remaining valances are made up of parts of palampores. W70f consists of four nearly matching pieces and has an inner valance (see fig.35). There is a United East India Company stamp on the largest and central piece. In the lower right hand corner of the piece serving as an inner valance, there are five groups of short brocaded lines of red cotton.

Plates 32, 33 and 34
Pair of Curtains and a Palampore

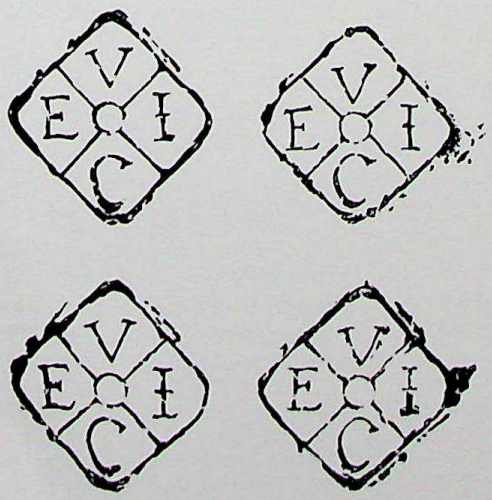
Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. nos. 17, 18 and 19–1906 (neg. nos. Z1204–5 and 34818). Given by Lady Hardman.

Curtains:
17–1906: total length 10ft 7in (322·5cm), lower part 8ft 1in (246·3cm) × 8ft 3in (251·5cm).
18–1906: lengths as above × 8ft 6in (259cm).
Palampore:
19–1906: 12ft (365·6cm) × 7ft 8in (233·5cm).

Warps and wefts in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow, and black.
Outlines black. Overpainting for green, orange and browns.

The design of this pair of curtains matches the two pairs discussed above but extends further at each side. The same muster has been used for both curtains, one being the reverse of the other. Like the narrow pair (W70a and d–1916), the craggy mound is intact but the top has been cut off and additions have been made from fragments of W70b and c–1916). Each curtain is composed of a selvage to selvage width of cotton to which has been sewn a similar width at each side after painting. That on the right of each curtain appears to be complete but that on the left has been cut and the ends of the branches and the border are missing. 17–1906 has a large patch at the right side and a group of small ones at the left of the tree trunk. The curtains are lined and bordered with glazed green calico. On the reverse side in the upper left corner of the right hand length of both there is a United East India Company stamp. In the top right corner and at the edge of the left side piece of one there are 9 groups of short lines of brocaded red cotton, and a similar group at the top of the centre piece of this curtain.



The flowering tree on the palampore is a variant of the one on the curtains. The wide border is a flowering branch meander entwined with two zig-zag vines. It reverses at the centre of each side and terminates in corner bouquets tied with a ribbon bow. The guard borders are meanders of small flowers, fruits, and spiky leaves. On the reverse side, in the upper right corner, there is a United East India Company stamp. There are two short lines of 4 brocaded shots of red cotton at both lower edges. The curtains and palampore were bought by Lady Hardman at the sale of the contents of David Garrick's Hampton villa in 1864.

Recent examination of the Garrick painted bedstead has revealed that it is not in its original form but has been contracted from a double to a single bed, and this explains the alteration of the valances. The canopy has been lowered and this would account for cutting down the bed-curtains. As the bed at fig.16, it was hung with the wide curtains W70b and c–1916 at the head of the bed, the narrow curtain a across the back, the other narrow curtain, as a coverlet. Valances e, f and g were hung around the top of the bed and h, i, and j were hung as bases.

Re-examination of the three pairs of curtains shows that they comprise a pair of narrow curtains for the head of the bed (W70a and d–1916) and the original pair of wide curtains for the foot (17, 18, 19–1906). This is apparent from the fact that they are all shortened at the top and have their mounds and bottom borders complete. The palampore was the coverlet. The other two pieces (W70a & b–1906) were probably two 'Curtains' mentioned in Garrick's first letter, dated 1775, to the Secretary of Customs (see below).

The valance pieces with treelet repeats probably reached the Garricks as one or more lengths to be cut to required sizes when the bedstead was furnished. The lines of brocaded red cotton in the corner of W70f–1916 indicate a terminating point. That there were perhaps additional curtains in the set is suggested by the fragments now made into valances. They do not fit any of the existing pieces. The fringes are later additions.

The curtains, palampore and valances are part of a 'Chintz Bed and Curtains' sent to Mrs David Garrick from India and detained in customs on their arrival in England in 1775. The following, here transcribed in full, are copies of surviving correspondence about this matter between David Garrick and Customs House officials. The first is an early copy (c. 1795) of an original letter dated 1775 from David Garrick to the Secretary of Customs, E. Stanley. The second is from David Garrick to his friend Guy Cooper, dated June 2nd 1775, and is followed by that gentleman's reply of the same date. The last letter is again from Garrick to Cooper and is dated June the 5th 1775. All except the first letter are copies made by Mr Trevor, in 1916, of the originals then in his possession.

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Original letter (1775) from Mr Garrick to the Secretary of the Customs:

Dear Sir,

Not Rachel weeping for her Children could shew more sorrow than Mrs Garrick – not weeping for her children. She has [none], nor indeed for her Husband, thanks be to the Humour of the times, she can be as Philosophical upon that subject as her betters.

What does she Weep for then? Shall I dare tell you! It is, it is, for the loss of a Chintz Bed and Curtains. – The tale is short and as follows: I have taken some pains to Oblige the Gentlemen of Calcutta, by sending them Plays, Scenes, & other Services in my way in return They have sent the Madeira & poor Rachael the unfortunate Chintz. She had prepared paper, chairs &c for this favourite Token of Indian gratitude. But alas; all Human filicity is frail. No care having been taken on my Wife's part & some treachery exerted against her it was seized, the very bed, by the coarse Hands of filthy Dungeon villains & then thrown among the Common Lumber.

If you have the least pity for a distressed female, any regard for her Husband (for he had a sad time of it) or any Wishes the environs of Bushy Park be made tolerable neat & Clean, you may put your finger & thumb to the Business, & take the thorn out of Rachael's side.

I am Dear Sir
Yours
D. Garrick.

Text—'for earthly Power doth then look likest God when Mercy Seasons justice'.
Shakspears Merchant of Venice.

Petition.
O Stanley give ear to a Husband's petitions
Regardless of His & the Laws Prohibition
If you knew what I suffer since she has been caught
On the Husband's poor head ever falls the Wife's fault
You would lend a kind hand to the contraband jade,
And Screen her for once, in her illicit Trade.
For true, as tis said since the first Eve undid 'im
Frail Woman will long for the Fruit that's forbidden
And Husbands are taught nowadays Spite of struggles
Politely to pardon a Wife tho she smuggles
If your Hands, or you, when the sex to as may,
Have sometimes, inclined to go with them thatway
We hope to her wishes you will not say nay
'Tis said that all Judges this Maxim do keep
Not their justice to time, but at times let it sleep.
If more by the Scriptures their Honors are moved
The over much Righteous are then disapprov'd.
Thus true to the Gospel, & kind as they're wise
Let their Mercy rest on what their justice Dinys.[16]

Copy of draft letter to Mr. Guy Cooper.

Adelphi june 2d

Dear Sir,

Not Rachel weeping for children could show more sorrow than Mrs. Garrick – not weeping for her children for children she has none, nor indeed for her husband, for thanks to the humour of the times she can be as philosophical upon that subject as any of the betters – What does she weep for then? Shall I dare to tell you? it is for the loss of a Chintz bed & curtains. The tale is short melancholy & as follows. I have taken great pains to oblige the Gentlemen at Calcutta by sending them plays scenes and a rather better in return thay have sent me Madeira & poor Rachel the unfortunate Chintz. She has had it 4 years, & upon making some Alterations in our little place at Hampton, she intended to away with her prohibited present – She had prepared paper chairs &c for this favourite token of East India Gratitude – but alas! as all human felicity is frail no care having been taken on my wife's part, & some treachery being excited against her it was seiz'd the very bed by the coarse hands of filthy dungeon villains and thrown amongst ye smuggled Lumber (?). If you have ye least pity for a distressed Female, any regard for her Husband for he has a sad time of it, or any wishes to see ye environs of Bushy Park made tolerably neat & clean, you may put your thumb & finger to ye business & take ye thorn out of poor Rachel's side.

Your

I was at yr door yesterday & intended waiting upon you this morning but was prevented by my plaguy disorder.

Kew late June 2. 1775

My dear Sir

Your letter of this day pleases & hurts me at the same moment. The wit of it flashes in my eyes, but the tale gives me distress. It grieves me that Mrs. Garrick should have a wish which I fear it is not in my power to comply with. Upon such occasions I hate acts of Parliament if possible more than ever, & I wish the Custom House & all their regulations & forms & seising officers, Suits of Venditions Exponas &c &c &c all at the Devil. I have however sent a supplication to my friend Stanley, the best humoured (tho diligent & active) secretary that ever was at that board to use his best offices to prevail with the Harpies to come into a reasonable composition for the restitution of the Chintz, & yet the Linnen Drapers & Cotton Printers & all that cursed Bougoisie I fear will be as powerfull as they (are) merciless. But let Mrs. Garrick be assured that all that the secular arm can do shall be done & as strongly exerted as if the present had been from the Nabob of Oud to our most Gracious Queen. I regret the time I lose in memorials & reports for nothing more than that they deprive me of your company and conversation. Mrs. Cooper was delighted with your letter and sends her best compliments & anxious wishes for the recovery of the Indian Gratitude.

I am my dear Sir
Ever yours most faithfully
Guy Cooper

June the 5th. 1775

My dear Sir,

Let me return my best thanks for your best endeavours on my wife's business – as you mention'd your application to my worthy friend Mr. Stanley, I have the presumption to back it with a few doggrel verses – Montaigne observes

[16] Manuscript: Garrick, David, Original letter ... to the Secretary of the Customs (1775) 4pp. 4to. This is an early copy of the original letter on paper watermarked 1795. (Inventory number L. 482-1918. Box III 86.S) Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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some men are sooner tickled than reason'd into kindness. I have try'd to draw my feather under the Secretary's nose in hopes that it will soften the rigour of his advice to the honourable Board: as I would not do anything in this matter without your knowledge I have enclosed ye Feather wth w^m^ I have try'd ye Experiment – if amidst the Truths & Lies that are daily arising about American affairs, my Nonsence can steal you a few minutes from y^r^ cares I shall have my Desire for there is no one wishes more warmly and sincerely and can do so little for y^r^ Cause (?) as my dear Sir

Most faithfully & gratefully
Yours
D. Garrick

The Petition of D:G; to his Friend E: Stanley Esqr in behalf of his afflicted Wife

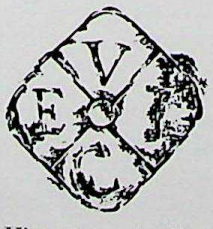
—Earthly Power doth then show likest God's
When Mercy seasons Justice (Shakespear)

O Stanley give ear to a Husbands' Petition
Whose Wife will deserves her distressful condition
Regardless of his & the Law's prohibition
If you knew what I suffer since she has been caught,
(On the Husband's poor head ever falls the Wife's fault)
You would lend a kind hand to the contraband Jade,
And screen her for once in her illicit trade:
'Tis true, as 'tis sad, since the first Eve undid 'em
Frail women will long for the Fruit that's forbid'em
And Husbands are taught nowadays spite of struggles,
Politely to pardon a Wife tho she smuggles:
If their Honors & you, when the sex go astray,
Have sometimes inclin'd to go w^th^ 'em that way
We hope to *her* wishes you will not say nay
'Tis said that all Judges this maxim should keep,
Not their Justice to tire, but at times let it sleep:
If more by the Scriptures their Honors are mov'd,
The Overmuch Righteous are ther disapprovd:
Thus true to the Gospel, & Kind as they'er wise,
Let their Mercy restore, what their Justice denies.[17]

D.G.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 8.

35
Plate 37
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.



Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 68–1880 (neg. no. 37073).

10ft 8½in (326·5cm) × 7ft 8in (233·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds?, 2 violets? (both these colours appear yellowish, due to exposure and perhaps faulty mordanting), blue, yellow (faded) and black. Outlines black and red? Overpainting for green.

A slender serpentine tree growing on a low rocky mound broken by patterning. The creeper-entwined branches have flowers resembling roses, chrysanthemums and peonies. Scroll markings on the trunk and some branches suggest veining and there are many small oval sawn-off branches. There is a United East India Company stamp in the lower right corner on the back of the cloth, a small square stamp inscribed C (G?) 2 in the lower left. There are five pairs of brocaded lines of red cotton near the top right corner.

The tree is a variant of the Garrick curtains and palampore, plates 32 to 36. It is reversed and branches are modified. There is also a greater profusion of foliage. The mound is similar to those in the Garrick chintzes but the treatment is more decorative. Another variant of this tree, with a debased scale mound, occurs on two curtains in the chintz bedroom of the Chateau Borèly, Marseilles. One is hung behind the bed and the other serves as a curtain to the present alcove arrangement.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 6. M. Percival, *The Chintz Book*, plate III.

36
Plate 38
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.3 (neg. no. ROMA2106). Gift of Mrs Harry Wearne.

10ft 5in (317cm) × 7ft 5in (226·1cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, dull yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for orange and green.

A serpentine tree growing from a high rocky diaper-patterned mound. It has flowers resembling roses, peonies and chrysanthemums. The zigzag-patterned branches are entwined with a vine. There are small plants, deer, and leopards on the mound. A leaf-skirted figure strides across it carrying over one shoulder a pole with a cage of animals suspended at either end. There is a smaller figure in similar costume and a little leopard runs ahead. Small flowering trees grow on the mound and a peacock perches in one of them. There is a United East India Company stamp on the reverse side, in the lower right corner.

This flowering tree, with many variants, is a recurring type of the second half of the eighteenth century. Examples in the London and Toronto collections are cat. nos. 39–41. Common to all is the high diaper patterned mound, the decorated trunk and branches and a pronounced use of violet (rather than blue) in the colour scheme, which reveals a skimping of labour found in many chintzes of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

[17] Mr Trevor's copies of letters 2, 3 and 4 were kindly made by him for the Victoria and Albert Museum. They were received 4-10-1916, and are filed in Registered Papers 16/2802.

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37

Plate 39

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS44–1950 (neg. nos. Z1203 and FG861). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft $5\frac{3}{4}$in (319·5cm) × 7ft 2in (218cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A serpentine tree with zigzag markings on the trunk growing against a vermicelli ground on a high patterned mound. It has flowers resembling peonies, chrysanthemums, roses, and a tulip, and there are birds and small beasts interspersed among the branches. The border has repeating treelets. Around the edge are low rolling hillocks.

The tree is almost identical to palampores cat. no. 38 and to cat. no. 39, which is reversed. The border of low rolling hillocks is a type often found on palampores of this style and period.

38

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.2 (neg. no. ROMA2089).

Gift of Mrs Harry Wearne.

9ft 9in (297cm) × 7ft 3in (220·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, dull yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for red violet, blue violet and green.

The flowering tree is almost identical to plate 39 and to cat. no. 39, which is reversed. The border differs in being filled with curving and looping bamboo-like floral sprays. The narrow inner guard border is a flower-meander with spiky foliage and there are rolling hillocks at the outer edge. There is a United India Company stamp on the back of the cloth, in the upper right corner. Part of the top border is missing.

39

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS298–1890 (neg. no. Z1174).

10ft (304·5cm) × 7ft $1\frac{3}{4}$in (218cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black and red.

The flowering tree is almost identical to cat. nos. 37 and 38, except that it is reversed mirrorwise. The border is the same as at colour plate 5 with variations in the corner flower vase. The inner guard border is of small repeating garlands.

40

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.1 (neg. no. ROMA2100). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft 7in (258·5cm) × 7ft 2in (218·3cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red violet.

A serpentine tree with schematic scroll-patterned trunk and branches growing from a high rocky mound. It has one large central flower and several slightly smaller ones resembling peonies and chrysanthemums. Birds and squirrels are interspersed among the branches. There are figures of warriors, and various fauna among the rocks. The border is a flowering branch meander which terminates in a shield-like motif in each corner. The top border and part of the tree are missing.

This flowering tree belongs to the same group as at plates 38 and 39 fully described under cat. no. 36. It has the same inner guard border as no. 38.

41

Plate 40

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS38–1950 (neg. no. X1262). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft $10\frac{1}{2}$in (331·3cm) × 7ft $11\frac{1}{2}$in (242·5cm). Selvages at sides.

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A serpentine tree with short exposed roots growing from a high rocky mound and, behind it, another with bamboo markings. Both have flowers resembling peonies, chrysanthemums, and roses. The panel is backed with fine white cotton and brass rings show that it has been used as a hanging. The Roman numerals II. V. are worked in cross-stitch in the upper left corner.

This tree belongs to the same group as cat. nos. 36 to 40. The bamboo has already appeared at plate 25, but is here less vigorous, more tenuous, and bears flowers and foliage in a later style.

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42
Plate 41
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Late 18th or early 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS2–1961 (neg. no. Z1200).

8ft 4in (254·5cm) × 6ft 11in (210cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

A drooping serpentine tree, cut off at the top, with flowers resembling peonies, chrysanthemums, and a tulip. It grows, with roots exposed, on a high diaper-patterned mound with a bamboo beside it. Birds perch precariously on the branches of the main tree and a leopard, deer, elephants appear on the mound.

This is a debased version of the design at plate 40.

43
Plate 42
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Ponneri, Chingleput District, Madras State. 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS299–1890 (neg. no. 71305).

10ft 3in (312·5cm) × 6ft 8½in (205cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, greenish yellow and black. Outlines black and red.

A serpentine tree with scallop markings on the trunk and roots partly exposed. Flowers resembling peonies, roses, and a tulip, and clusters of fruits and nuts. It grows on a high diaper-patterned mound with jagged outcroppings. A creeper-entwined bamboo grows beside it. Both the tree and the bamboo have feathery foliage and there are many birds.

The tree, the bamboo, and the diaper-patterned mound appear at plate 40, but the drawing is coarser and the forms debased. The birds resemble those in plate 39.[18] An unusual feature is the total absence of indigo dye. The dominating colour is the yellowish green of the foliage.

44
Plate 43. Colour plate 5
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM43–1925 (neg. no. Z1202 and FG862). Given by Brigadier-General James Dallas, C.B., C.M.G.

10ft 5in (318cm) × 7ft 4in (224cm).

[18] There is in the Victoria and Albert Museum a well-documented group of mid-nineteenth century chintzes, Madras State, which represents a final stage in the degeneration of this style (eg. IS1725–1883 and IS1599–1883).

Fig. 36. Painted wallpaper. Chinese, 18th century. 305cm × 94cm. *Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 963. 163.1*

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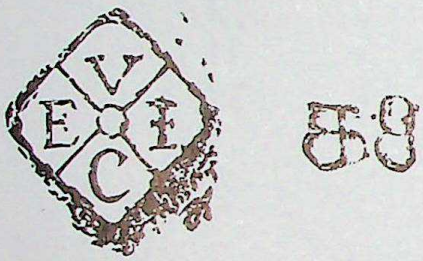
Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Mint condition.

A floral medallion in the centre and, at each end, against a yellow seaweed ground, a flowering tree, with trunk divided into two branches. The tree grows from a high peaked mound broken up into irregular patterned areas with vases of flowers, peacocks, and deer. Birds, beasts, and butterflies are interspersed among the branches. The border has small flowering branches growing from low hillocks and a vase of flowers in each corner. There are groups of four short, brocaded lines of red cotton in one corner, and in the diagonally opposite corner, on the reverse side, a United East India Company stamp and a small seal bearing two symbols, one of which might be the Tamil lettering '*ka*'.



The design is a contemporary version of an earlier double-tree group (plate 13) and is almost identical to cat. no. 45, but with a different border. It is also closely related to cat. no. 39, which has the same border.

45

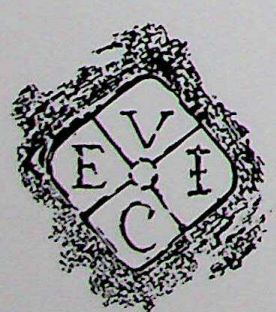
Two halves of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM44 and 45–1925 (neg. no. Z1211). Given by Brigadier-General James Dallas, C.B., C.M.G.

4ft 10½in (149cm) × 6ft 8½in (204cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

The basic features of this design are similar in all respects to colour plate 5 but there are variations in secondary foliage and in the treatment of the mound.



The border is composed of scattered bouquets of flowers tied with ribbon and in each corner a small cornucopia of flowers. There is a United East India Company stamp on one of the pieces (IM45–1925) and a small seal bearing the Tamil lettering identical to that on cat. no. 44.

46

Plate 44

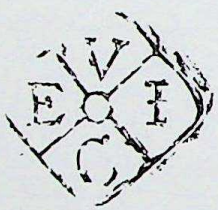
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM226–1921 (neg. no. X1271).

11ft 1⅝in (340cm) × 7ft 5in (226cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, strong blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

A flowering tree, with exposed roots, scroll-patterned trunk, small pointed leaves, and flowers resembling peonies and anemones. It is poised above a jagged mound, partly patterned with florets, and is set against a yellow vermicelli ground. The border is a serpentine vine-entwined flowering branch stemming from a small hillock in each corner. There is a United East India Company stamp on the reverse side in the lower left corner.



Flowers and foliage show a greater uniformity in size and kind than is found in flowering trees of the first half of the eighteenth century and the design is influenced by contemporary Chinese wallpaper. The absence of an inner guard border is a feature of many late palampores. The vermicelli ground, another late feature, may reflect the influence of quilted embroideries worked with yellow silk, or printed cottons with similar ground patterns. The scroll pattern on the trunk of the tree (a chinoiserie feature) is reminiscent of that on the tree at plate 15.

47

Plate 45

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Late 18th century, or early 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.5 (neg. no. ROMA2103). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

7ft 5in (226cm) × 6ft 3½in (191·8cm).

Selvage to selvage width 3ft 2½in (97cm).
Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black. Very faded.

A slender tree with partly exposed roots, growing on a rocky mound with flowers resembling peonies, an anemone, a chrysanthemum, and a tulip. There are small animals (probably deer), cycads, and a bamboo plant among the

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rocks. The border has meandering bamboo branches which stem from small mounds in each corner and the narrow guard borders are leaf and berry meanders. The cloth is composed of two selvage-to-selvage widths of cotton sewn together after painting. Parts of the border are patched.

The black outlines have been drawn with heavy accents as at plates 26 and 135, but with less care. Compare the border and guard borders with the palampore at plate 46, which is also composed of two widths of cotton sewn together after painting.

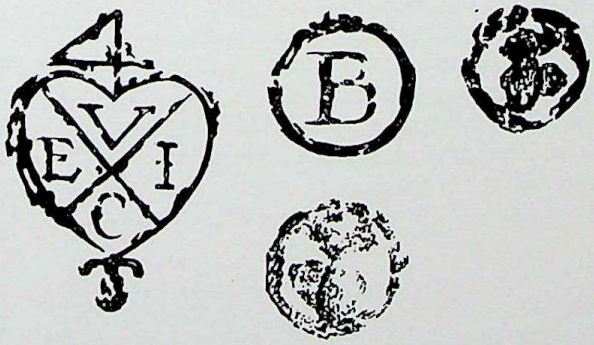
48
Plate 46
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Late 18th or early 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS341–1898 (neg. no. X1273).

8ft 6in (259·3cm) × 6ft 9in (206cm).
Selvage to selvage 3ft 4½in (103cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

A serpentine tree, with a bamboo growing beside it, bearing stylised peonies and lilies, a rose, and two fanciful flowers. The ground is filled with a vermicelli pattern and the tree grows from a formalised rockery. The cloth is composed of two widths of cotton sewn together after painting. The light indigo blue has clearly been applied direct to the cloth by brush. A United East India Company stamp[19] appears in the upper left corner; elsewhere there is a letter B in a circle and two other undecipherable circular stamps.



Compare the border and guard borders with plate 45. Both palampores are composed of two widths of cotton.

49
Plate 47
Palampore and matching fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. From Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS152–1950 (neg. no. 1135) and IS43–1950 (neg. no. X1264). Given by G. P. Baker.

[19] A similar stamp occurs on a flintlock gun dated 1793 in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum (see p.12, fig.f).

1.5.152–1950: 10ft 4in (315cm) × 11ft (335cm) × selvage to selvage 5ft 6¼in (168cm).
1.5.43–1950: 11ft ½in (335cm) × 5ft 1in (154·5cm).

Warps and wefts in pairs.

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and brown.

Two confronting serpentine trees grow from pyramidal mounds. The trees have flowers resembling peonies and anemones and spiky bamboo foliage interspersed with peacocks and small birds. They enclose two seated chinoiserie figures holding mirrors. The border has notched and looped serpentine branches bearing alternately a peony and a chrysanthemum. There are no guard borders. The palampore is composed of two salvage widths joined after painting. The fragment consists of half a similar palampore, and is composed of a single width of cloth.

Both halves of the design have been taken from the same perforated drawing reversed mirrorwise. The drawing of flowers and foliage, the strident dark blue, and the type of cotton on which the palampores are painted relates them to cat. no. 19, plate 17, dated 1764. Compare the looping border branch with plates 59 and 72.

50
Plate 48
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS142–1950 (neg. no. H1133). Given by G. P. Baker.

11ft 4in (345·3cm) × 10ft 4in (314·8 cm). Warps and wefts in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow (faded) and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, brown and orange.

Three angular flowering trees growing from a chinoiserie rockery. The trees on the left and right have flowers resembling peach or prunus blossoms, the centre one magnolia blossoms. Birds perch in the branches and on the mounds. The double border has a vermicelli ground, now faded. The whole palampore is edged with a blue band along the edges.

Part of the design has been copied, with modifications, from a Chinese wallpaper (see fig.36). The cotton is wider than any other known piece.

51
Plate 49
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS46–1950 (neg. no. Z1175). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft 2½in (311cm) × 8ft 3½in (252·5cm). Warps and wefts in pairs.

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Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, brown, yellow, and black. Outlines black.

Two flowering trees of Chinese type growing from high rocky outcroppings on a low grassy mound. The flowers include prunus and magnolia, and fungus grows on the branches. Peonies stem from the rocks, and there are large birds in the foreground. The border has a seaweed ground.

The design is apparently copied from a contemporary Chinese wallpaper (cf. fig.36).

52
Plate 50
Two Palampores: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS45–1950 (neg. no. Z1178) and acc. no. IS120–1950 (neg. no. H1049). Given by G. P. Baker.

IS45–1950 × 11ft 3in (342·8cm) × 8ft 2in (248·8cm); IS120–1950 is two inches shorter.

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red and red-violet.

Two meandering branches growing from patterned rocky hillocks. There are some peonies but most of the flowers and foliage are small daisies and short pointed leaves. Spotted fungi grow on the branches and there are many birds. In the foreground there is a fishpond with ducks. The border has heavy garlands joined together by narrow ribbon bows with floral pendants. Baskets of flowers are enclosed within the loops of the garlands. Both palampores have been lined and used as curtains.

The designs are identical except that the centre field of IS45–1950 is larger and the border correspondingly narrower.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L2705.28, cat. no. 21. (IS45–1950 only.)

53
Plate 51
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made under European and Persian influence. Provenance uncertain. 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS5474 (neg. no. 37071).

12ft 5½in (379·3cm) × 9ft 6in (290·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, and black. Outlines red and black.

A serpentine tree growing from a rocky and cavernous mound. It has flowers resembling peonies and chrysanthemums, and much leafy foliage. The mound is peopled with animals including elephants, horses, a rabbit, monkey, camel and two antelopes. Fungus grows on the branches and cobras are coiled round the trunk. The whole palampore is edged with a blue band.

The design is probably contemporary with plates 53 to 55, which are known to have been commissioned for the 1855 Paris Universal Exhibition. The fungus on the branches is derived from Chinese wallpaper. Flowers are added at each side where the tree is too small to fill the field. The V. & A. Museum has another palampore of the same kind (IS5472).

54
Plate 52
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made under European and Persian influence. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM48–1926 (neg. no. 58018). Given by her Majesty the late Queen Mary.

9ft 3in (282cm) × 5ft 11½in (181cm). Selvage to selvage 2ft 11½in (91cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue. Outlines black and red. Gilded.

A serpentine tree with exposed roots growing from a cavernous mound with hyenas, an anteater, a stag and a tiger. The tree has peonies and uniform foliage. There are many birds including several peacocks, some holding cobras. The border has repeated garlands joined together by narrow ribbon bows with floral pendants. There is much gilding and many fine lines where wax has cracked.

The flowers and foliage, being uniform rather than miscellaneous, suggest that this style was originally evolved for the Persian market. Similar flowering trees occur in Persian tilework.[1] An example close to this one (attributed to Pallakollu) is reproduced in Hadaway, *Cotton printing in the Madras Presidency*, fig.50.

55
Plate 53
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Rajahmundry, Andhra State. Commissioned for the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS5423 (neg. no. 37067). Acquired from the India Office.

12ft 4½in (377·3cm) × 8ft 2½in (250·4cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

[1] Some of the wall-tiles in a small octagonal House (Zand Dynasty 1760–97), now the Museum of Shiraz, have flowering branches stylistically similar to this tree. We are grateful to Dr A. D. Tushingham for drawing our attention to this.

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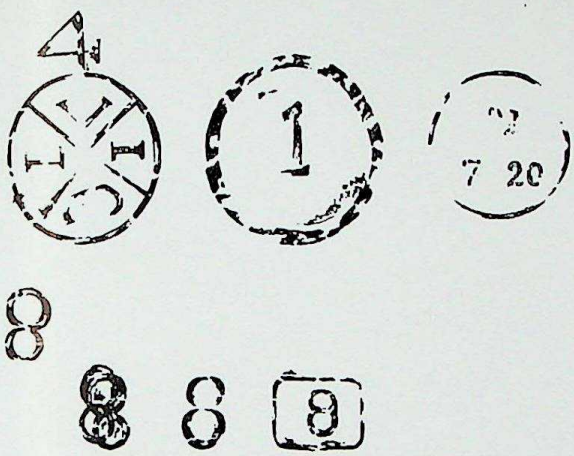
A tree, almost symmetrical, stemming from a formal arrangement of foliage scrolls, with flowers resembling peonies and chrysanthemums. The border is filled with a formal garland against a red vermicelli ground. Around the outer edge is a narrow greenish band. The yarn of the cloth is machine-spun, and the fabric woven on a power-loom. There are several stamp marks on the reverse side: (1) a United East India Company stamp with orb, pennon and cross; (2) a circle containing the numerals '7·20'; (3) a circle containing the first numeral, and several impressions resembling the numeral '8', which could also be read as a crude form of Tamil *ka* (see p.12).



In the catalogue of the 1855 Paris Exhibition there are references to two sets of Indian chintzes – one consisting of 'chintzes and palampores' from North Arcot, Madras, and the other of 'coverlets printed in colours and in gold, from Masulipatam'. According to museum records, this palampore and the next one (cat. no. 56) were acquired at Rajahmundry, which is about 80 miles north-east of Masulipatam.

Exhibited: Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855.

Bibliography: *Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855: Catalogue of the works exhibited in the British section*, London, 1855, p.156.

56
Plate 54
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Rajahmundry, Andhra State. Commissioned for the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855.

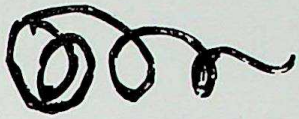
Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS5475 (neg. no. 37072).

8ft 11in (271·9cm) × 9ft 1½in (278·9cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

Clump of bamboos with creeper-entwined branches, growing from a symmetrically-hummocked scale-mound with urns filled with stylised floral sprays. The border is filled with a formal garland, and both border and field have a red vermicelli ground. The yarn is machine-spun, and the fabric is woven on a power-loom. A printed paper label on the back reads: 'Madras Products CVIII, No. 18 (392) Palampore 3 × 3 yards, price Rupees 14; ordered by the Committee through G.N.Tayton, Esq., Sub-controller of Rajahmundry. Property of H.E.I.C.' There is a Telegu (?) code mark written in ink on the outer blue band.

Acquired in the same circumstances as cat. no. 55 (plate 53).



Bibliography: W.S.Hadaway, *Cotton painting and printing in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1917, fig.35.

57
Plate 55
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Masulipatam or hinterland. Probably made at the time of the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS5466 (neg. no. 37068).

12ft 5in (378·3cm) × 9ft 5in (288cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, and black. Outlines black and red.

Clump of bamboos with crossing branches and feathery foliage, growing beside a fishpond. The border is filled with a formal garland, and around the outer edge there is a narrow blue band.

This type of design with slender crossing branches has links with eighteenth-century Persian art. This piece was acquired at the same time as cat. nos. 55 and 56 and may have been commissioned in the same circumstances.

Bibliography: W.S.Hadaway, *Cotton painting and printing in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1917, fig.34.

58
Plate 56
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Masulipatam or hinterland. Probably made at the time of the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS5473 (neg. no. 37070).

12ft 8in (386·2cm) × 9ft 5½in (288·4cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, brown, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

In the centre, a small clump of bamboos with feathery foliage, and on each side a slender flowering tree, all growing on a formal, scale-like hillock. The border is filled with a formal garland, and around the outer edge is a narrow blue band. The yarn is machine-spun, and the fabric woven on a power-loom.

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This piece was acquired at the same time as cat. nos. 55 and 56 and may have been commissioned in the same circumstances.

59
Plate 57
Coverlet, hanging or prayer-mat: painted and dyed cotton. Combining European and Persian influence. Burhanpur, North Deccan. Late 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS51–1952 (neg. no. K1482).

6ft 3in (193cm) × 3ft 6in (106·7cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A slender flowering-tree is set within a conventional *mihrab* and grows from a scale-like hillock with lotus-petals at its base. There is a wide floral border across the top, and narrow borders down the sides and along the bottom. All have the same floral-meander guard-borders.

This type of design, with its hybrid mixture of European, Islamic and Hindu elements, seems to have emerged in the late eighteenth century when the Western chintz market was declining and the Persian market was reviving. The Victoria and Albert Museum has another piece, almost identical, except that it lacks the lotus base (IS128–1950).

Exhibited: International Exhibition of Persian Art, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1931, cat. no.373.

60
Plate 58
Part of Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain (possibly Western India). 18th century, second quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.25 (neg. no. ROMA2102). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

7ft 2in (218·3cm) × 4ft (122cm). Selvage to selvage 3ft 2in (95cm). Warps and wefts in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

A serpentine branch with roses, tulips, carnations, stocks, convolvuluses, marigolds, columbine, and other Western flowers, framed by a wavy, green and flower-scattered border. The lower part of the hanging is missing. It is made of one selvage-to-selvage width of cotton with a narrow strip joined to it, on the right side, before painting.

The flowers have been drawn with more naturalism than is usual in chintz painting. For instance the undersides of several flowers are shown and the thorns on the rose stems depicted. Similar shading of the branches occurs at plate 64a, but there is no known parallel to the leaf drawing. The nearest is on foliage at plate 36. Both features, however, occur in English crewel embroidery. The organisation of the design is reminiscent of a set of English embroidered wall panels (see fig.37).[21] A matching hanging showing the missing part of this one can be seen in fig.38. It may be inferred by comparison that the original length of this panel would have been 217cm. A matching chair-seat cover is shown at fig.39.

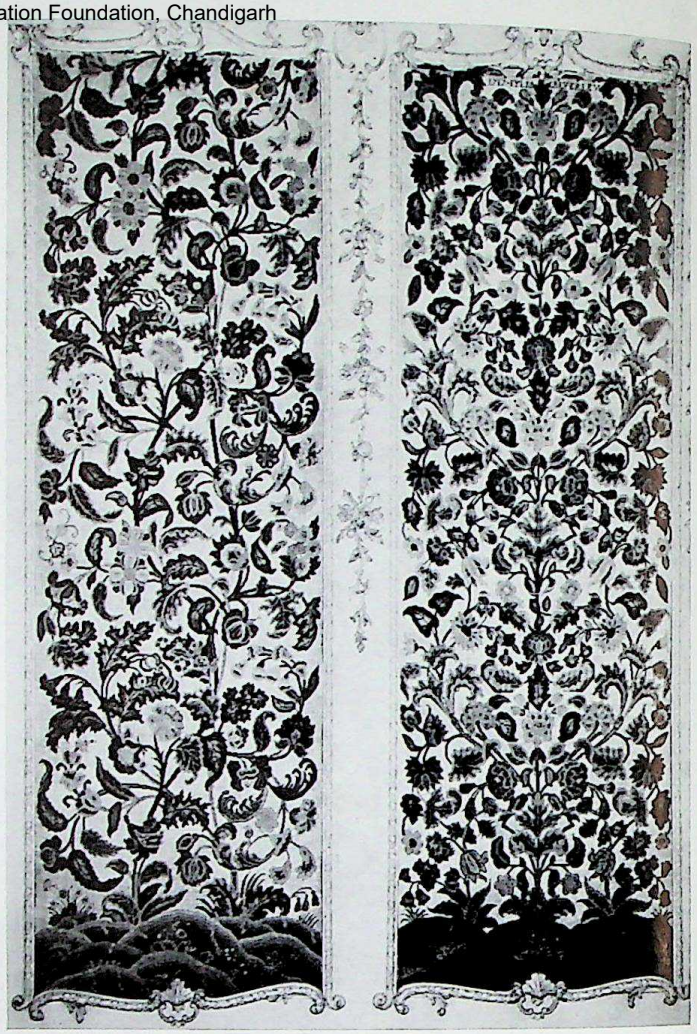

Fig. 37. Embroidered wall-panels: one dated 1717. 289·5cm × 89cm. *Wallington, Northumberland*

61
Plate 59
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM85–1937 (neg. no. 77618).

8ft 8in (264·1cm) × 7ft 4in (223·8cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and brown.

Two tall cycads with short roots growing on a flat jagged rockery from which stumps protrude. Their trunks cross as each leans towards its diagonally opposite corner. Both are entwined with vines. Small chinoiserie trees grow beside them. There is a symmetrical border composed of bunches of flowers and loops of foliage.

[21] George Wingfield Digby, 'Lady Julia Calverley: Embroidress. Part I.' *The Connoisseur*, April 1960, pp.82–8, plate 1.

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Fig. 38. Hanging or curtain: painted and dyed cotton. Provenance uncertain, 2nd quarter of 18th century. *Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York*

This kind of cycad often appears in chintzes of the second half of the eighteenth century, and may have been copied from botanical drawings. The small flowering trees resemble those in contemporary Chinese wallpaper. The border is almost the same as that at plate 72, but there are differences in proportion and detail.

62

Plates 60b, 62b and 64b

Part of a Set of Bed Hangings: made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS2 a, b, and c–1967 (neg. nos. FG1765, 1766, 1767), acc. no. IS122–1965 (neg no. FG2057).

Hanging 4ft 10in (147·45cm) × 3ft 8½in (113·15cm).
Valance 4ft 10in (147·45cm) × 11¾in (29·9cm).
Palampore fragment 2ft 3½in (69·8cm) × 2ft 4in (71cm). (About $\frac{1}{6}$ of palampore field).
Border of palampore 10ft 3in (312·5cm) × 7ft 3½in (222·5cm) × 1ft 1⅖in (34cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

Fig. 39. Chair-seat cover: painted and dyed cotton. Provenance uncertain. 63cm × 69cm. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 27.195.1*

The four pieces comprise a hanging, a valance, the palampore border and part of its centre field. The design of the hanging is a slender serpentine tree growing on a low mound beside a fish pond, against a speckled red ground. The trunk and branches are patterned with a vermicelli meander. The flowers are fanciful and there are small fruits and nuts, and two chinoiserie birds. There are lotus plants in the foreground. The valance design has only the lower part of a row of flowering trees matching the hanging, a row of hillocks, and a fish pond. The palampore fragment shows part of a high scale mound on which grows an angular flowering branch. A large bird resembling a duck stands beside the mound, and another, perhaps a cockerel, perches precariously on a branch. In the lower left corner there is a medallion with symmetrically arranged flower sprays on a white ground, framed by a looping foliage garland. There is a selvage at the right. The border is complete and has a repeat of small trees against a white ground alternating with high, light blue rockeries. Along the edge is a stretch of water containing fish.

The serpentine movement of the trunk and arrangement of branches on the hanging recur at plate 6. The flowers and foliage and the low scale mound, with fishpond in the foreground, is related to plate 61, which also has a speckled ground. The flowering branch on the palampore resembles the hanging and valance in colour and draughtsmanship, but is stylistically different. It is sharply angular and bears quite different flowers and foliage (for instance, there are many small trefoil leaves which do not appear in the other two pieces).

63

Plates 61 and 65

Pair of Curtains and Pieces from a six-sided Canopy: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.15 a–h (neg. nos. ROMA2558 and 67TEX193).

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Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.
Curtains 934.4.15 a: 9ft 7⅛in (292cm) × 7ft 7in (231cm).
Curtains 934.4.15 b: 9ft 9½in (298cm) × 7ft 7in (231cm).
Canopy pieces 934.4.15 c–h (not all complete), 1ft 10⅞in (58cm) × 3ft 5in (104cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and blue-violet. Glazed.

The formal design of flowering branches on a speckled red ground is a composite one poised above a low scale mound with confronting pairs of mongooses holding coiled cobras in their jaws. A symmetrical flowering plant stemming from a small vase terminates below two large addorsed birds. It appears again above the birds, where it divides into two symmetrical meandering branches which meet again near the top. Foliage arabesques intertwine around the plant. Arches of scrolling and looping strapwork complete the design at the top (see plate 65) and there is a fish pond across the bottom. Each curtain is composed of a narrow strip of cotton with a wide piece sewn to each side. A half width from a longer panel is sewn to the right side of curtain 934.4.15 a and to the left side of curtain 934.4.15 b. Its symmetrical branches and foliage arabesques match those on the curtains but continue almost to the top. Two of the six canopy pieces have been cut from the top of 934.4.15 b, and the remainder from other panels. Both curtains are considerably patched across the bottom.

The symmetrical features of the design recall the decorative compositions of Jean Berain (1638–1711). Flowers and foliage invite comparison with plates 6, 8 and 9. The practice of joining lengths of cloth of varying sizes was not uncommon in the eighteenth century (cf. cat. no. 34). The curtains have been reduced from their original length. 934.4.15 c–h were made as a bed-canopy. Part of the original design was probably intended for wall-display.

64
Plates 62a and 63a
Part of a Set of Hangings: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS123–, 124–, and 125–1950 (neg. no. H1134). Given by G. P. Baker.

Circ. 78–1952 (neg. K862).
Formerly in the collection of G.P. Baker.
IS123–1950: 6ft 10¼in (209cm) × 13ft 4½in (407·6cm).
IS124–1950: 7ft (213·3cm) × 10ft 7in (322·6cm).
IS125–1950: 8ft 9in (266·8cm) × 11ft 4in (345·3cm).
Circ. 78–1952: 6ft 6in (198·3cm × 3ft 5in (104cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A slender, upright vermicelli-patterned tree stemming from a large pedestal vase. It has a symmetrical arrangement of stylised flowers, foliage and floral arabesques; intervening spaces are filled with bouquets of flowers tied with ribbon bows. The vase and lower part of the tree are complete at plate 62a. The hangings are extensively pieced and there is no complete unit of the design.

The symmetrical form of the design is somewhat similar to plate 61, but the general effect is one of richer floral profusion. There is some resemblance between the drawing of the flowers and foliage in this piece and in the border-fragment at plate 63b. When acquired by the Museum, these hangings were very crudely stitched together into shapes which suggested their use as tent-linings (possibly a nineteenth-century adaptation).

65
Plate 63b
Border fragments: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.30 a and b. (neg. no. 67TEX182). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

934.4.30 a: 2ft 11in (89cm) × 1ft 7¾in (50cm).
934.4.30 b: 3¾in (9·5cm) × 1ft 5⅝in (44cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A slender meandering branch with curving flower-sprays and a vase of flowers within each curve, terminating in a large vase on the right. The latter is cut in half, and beyond it there is a narrow guard-border. Fragment 934.4.30 b shows a matching half-vase on the left. The narrow borders along the top and bottom are on a yellow ground. There is a United East India Company stamp on the reverse side, near the lower right corner.

It is unusual among chintzes exported to Europe to come across a border with the design terminated by a guard border down the side as in this piece, and it suggests that this chintz may have been made for the Persian market.

In treatment of flower-sprays and birds there is some resemblance between this piece and plates 61 and 63a. The largest of the vases has some resemblance to the vase at plate 62a.

66
Plate 66
Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.18 a (neg. no. ROMA2105). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft 4in (254cm) × 5ft 2in (157·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, light blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

The design is a symmetrical arrangement of architectural ornament composed of three tiers of arches framing vases of flowers and embellished with garlands and scrollwork. The cloth itself is made up of two lengths of cotton joined after painting, The join occurs to the left of the central

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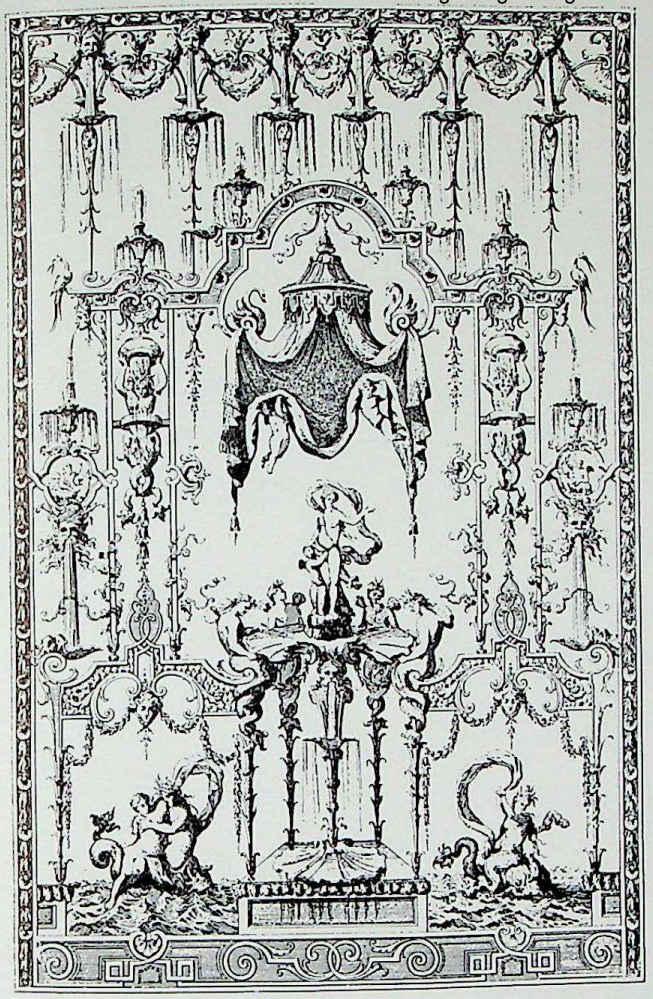

Fig. 40. Decorative composition 'Venus et l'Amour' by Jean Berain, 1638–1711

flower vase. There are selvages at the join only. Across the top is sewn a strapwork border which does not belong to it. Red speckling has been used extensively on the architectural features of the design.

The design is adapted from a decorative composition by Jean Berain (1638–1711), the original being reproduced at fig.40. The human and mythological figures have been taken out, some replaced by vases of flowers. The choppy seas have been replaced by black-and-white tiles. Much of the canopy's curtain has been deleted and so have the mermaid figures around the shell. Only their double tails remain as the upper part of its supports. The top row of arches is only partly composed of the elements in the upper part of Berain's design. The vases of flowers are Western in origin and the adaptation has apparently been done by a Western chintz designer who has succeeded in making a more satisfactory design for a wall hanging than an exact copy of the Berain engraving would have been.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'A French source of Chintz design', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no. 2, 1956, pp. 43–52. Roger Armand Weigert, *Catalogue de l'Oeuvre de Jean I. Berain*, Paris, 1937, no. 71.

67

Plate 67

Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

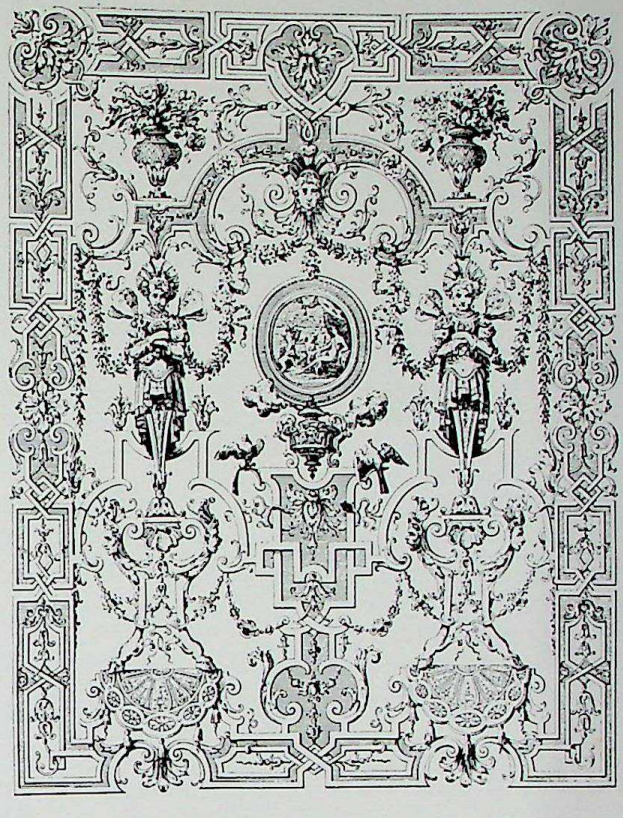

Fig. 41. Decorative composition by Jean Berain, 1638–1711

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.18 d (neg. no. 58–55.15). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft $\frac{3}{4}$in (246cm) × 5ft 8in (172·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, light blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Red speckling.

The design is a symmetrical arrangement of architectural ornament and strapwork embellished with garlands. There are no borders. A blue line runs down the edge at the right side and across the top. The cloth itself is composed of a narrow centre strip of cotton with a horizontal join (visible below the hanging medallion), sewn before painting. A wider length is stitched to each side after painting (not matching on the right, since the ring on this side is painted blue instead of red). There are selvages at the right edge of the centre section and at those edges of the two wide lengths of cotton which join it. The outer edges of the panel are raw and, except for a thin blue line, there is no border. There is considerable use of red speckling on the strapwork.

This design is derived from a decorative composition by Jean Berain (1638–1711), engraved by Jean Dolivar (1642–82), and reproduced at fig.41. The European chintz designer has kept very closely to the original engraving and has deleted only the figure group in the central medallion, the incense burner below it, and the supporting winged semi-human figures. There are differences in proportion between the engraving and the chintz (the arch is heavier and the strap-work wider). The kinds of flowers in the vases have been changed and the birds on the pedestals have been added. It would seem that the borders have

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been cut off since there are no selvages at the side edges of the panel. A border the width of the strapwork at plate 68b (which is the same as at fig.41), if added to a side section of this hanging, would make the selvage to selvage width 45 inches (44·3cm), a standard width for Indian cotton. The drawing of this design is similar to plate 68b, which may originally have been a piece of the same set as this one. Earlier theories regarding this piece (see bibliography) are now superseded.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'A French source of Indian chintz design', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no. 2, 1956, pp.43–52. Roger Armand Weigert, *Catalogue de l'Oeuvre de Jean I. Berain*, Paris, 1937, nos. 107, 119.

68
Plate 68b
Parts of a Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.18 f and g. (neg. no. 67TEX186). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

934.4.18 f 8ft (243·8cm) × 3ft 3¼in (99·5cm).
934.4.18 g 8ft 4in (253·8cm) × 3ft 8in (111·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, light blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

The hanging is in two pieces, each having half an ornamental arch supported by a winged semi-human figure with outstretched arms and terminating in a pedestal. Down the outer side of each piece is a wide interlacing strapwork border and a blue band at the edge. A narrow meandering floral border of a type familiar in contemporary painted cotton girdles (*patkas*) has subsequently been added. Red speckling has been used extensively on the architectural elements of the design and the border.

The design is adapted from a decorative composition by Jean Berain (1638–1711), reproduced at fig.42. The original design was intended to decorate the outside of a cupboard or cabinet. The base has been raised and elaborated, otherwise only minor changes have been made. Foliage ornament has been added to the side extensions of the arched top to fill the upper corners of the rectangular panel. The border is the same as at fig.41. Drawing and colour are similar to cat. no. 67, and both may be from the same set. (Compare attached floral-meander to plate 78.) There are other fragments of the same design in the Toronto collection, and when put together they appear to make up a second panel from the same set. There are also many strapwork border fragments, some of which probably belonged to these panels (one is a border now attached to cat. no. 66, but since this does not combine with any of the other fragments it may have been part of yet another panel). A narrow strip down the outer edge of one fragment preserves its original colours unfaded, including green and orange.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'A French source of Indian chintz design', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no. 2, 1956, pp.43–52. Roger Armand Weigert, *Catalogue de l'Oeuvre de Jean I. Berain*, Paris, 1937, no. 83.

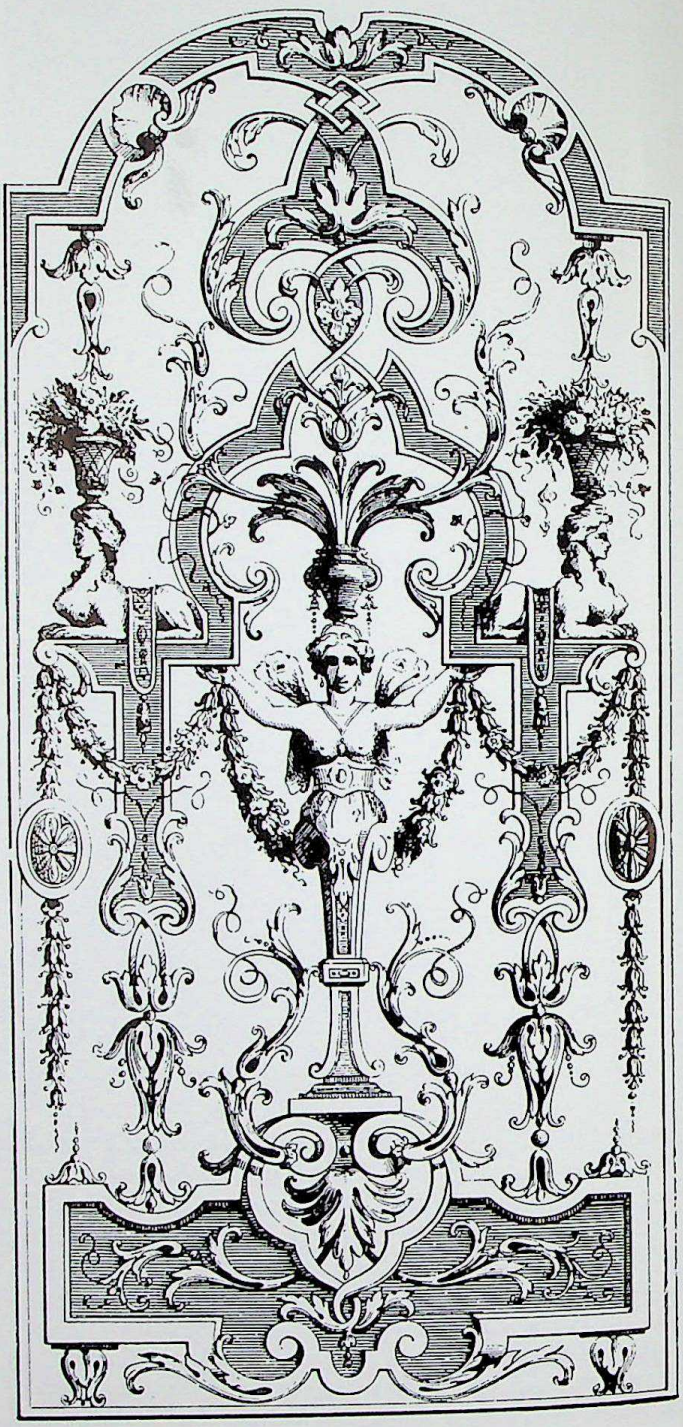

Fig. 42. Decorative composition by Jean Berain, 1638–1711

69
Plate 68a
Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.18 e (neg. no. 63AA.91). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft ¾in (244cm) × 2ft 8in (81cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, light blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

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A formal strapwork design embellished with scrollwork, a floral festoon and vases of flowers. The design terminates at the top with a large trefoil and a leaf palmette holding a drapery festoon. Matching fragments have been recently added to the top, but the design is incomplete.

This design contains many elements of Jean Berain's ornamental compositions but the drawing is coarser and there is less regard for detail than at plates 66, 67 and 68b. The other pieces in this group (acc. no. 934.4.18 b, e and h) are panels made up of fragments from two hangings of the same design and a third like cat. no. 68b.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'A French Source of Indian Chintz Design', *The Journal of Indian Textile History*, vol. 2, 1956, pp.43–52.

69a
Plate 69
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS4–1968 (neg. no. FH525).

12ft 6in (383·3cm) × 9ft (274·4cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 blues, violet, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

A large floral wreath in the centre encloses an armorial device with two oval shields, one of which is empty, and the other has an unfinished drawing of a cock. In each corner of the field there is a conventional wreath with a bird perched on top. The rest of the field is covered with staggered rows of small flowering plants. The border consists of interlacing strapwork and scrolling acanthus foliage in the style of Jean Berain (1638–1711).

The Berainesque elements in the design are similar to those in plates 66 to 68. The outer guard-border is repeated at plate 78. The flowering plants in the field show Mughal influence.

69b
Plate 70
Bedspread: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Late 17th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 968.158.1 (neg. no. 68TEX243 and 244).

L. 10ft 10in (330cm), W. 8ft 4in (254cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue and black. Outlines black and red. The ground faded yellow.

There is a cartouche with the emblem of a pelican in her piety on a red ground in the centre and a quarter-circle with a peacock and scrolling ornament in each corner. The field is filled with flowers on encircling stems, garlands and scrollwork. The scrollwork and floral borders have wide guard borders with spaced florets on a speckled red ground. Two guard borders surround the field, one with a floral meander and the other with repeated lozenges on a red ground. There are two almost semi-circular motifs containing symmetrical floral motifs on a red ground in the upper corners and scrolling foliage medallions in the lower corners. The bedspread is edged with a wide blue band. It is composed of a narrow centre length of cotton to which a full width 3ft 5in (106·7cm) has been sewn on each side.

The design is in the style of Jean Berain (1638–1711). The floral meander guard border resembles those on contemporary girdles (*patkas*) and is similar to one at plate 78. The two motifs in the upper corners are to cover the ends of the top border, which was intended to be tailored to cover a bolster.

70
Three fragments of a Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.34 a, b and c (neg. no. 63AA54). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

934.4.34 a (greatest) 3ft 4½in (103cm) × (greatest) 2ft 3½in 69cm).
934.4.34 b (greatest) 1ft 11¾in (60·5cm) × (greatest) 2ft 3in (68·5cm).
934.4.34 c 11¾ in (29·8cm) × 9in (22·8cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues and black. Outlines black and red. Red speckling.

These fragments are similar to the design at plate 68a, but the drawing is coarser and the colours harsher. It is unlikely that this version was made at the same time as cat. no. 69 or by the same artisans, since in this case two blues are used, requiring an additional step in the lengthy indigo-dyeing process.

71
Two fragments of a Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.816 a and b (neg. no. 67TEX369).

934.4.816 a 2ft 4¾in (73cm) × 1ft 4½in (42cm).
934.4.816 b 2ft 10½ in (87·8cm) × 2ft 5in (73·6cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Red speckling.

A formal design of scrollwork and interlacing in the Berainesque style. 934.4.816 a is part of a side border with a selvage edge; 934.4.816 b is made up of two pieces from the centre of a hanging and both have selvage to selvage centre seams made after painting.

The design is stylistically similar to the Berain chintzes but more delicately drawn. Hatching has been used for shading on parts of the scrollwork.

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Fig. 43. Engraving from a *Don Quixote* set by Jean Baptiste Henri Bonnart, 1678–1726. *British Museum*

72
Plate 71
Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS118–1950 (neg. no. H1053). Given by G.P.Baker.

9ft 3in (281·8cm) × 8ft 7in (261·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black except in border where red is also used. Overpainting for green.

A pictorial design depicting a group of figures beneath a flowering tree. In the background, a building in Western neo-classical style. The wide borders have bunches of flowers and foliage linked by a pair of intertwining stems. The guard-borders have a floral meander with tendrils and trefoil leaves. There is a narrow blue band around the outer edge.

The design is adapted from an engraving by Jean Baptiste Henri Bonnart (1678–1726), reproduced at fig.43. The original engraving, which illustrates the episode from *Don Quixote* where Sancho Panza leaves for the island of Barataria, is here reversed and transformed from a horizontal to a vertical composition. Sancho Panza is mounted on a jackass and receives the blessing of Don Quixote (central figure). The Duke and Duchess stand to the right, and at the extreme left a servant holds Sancho's small ass, Dapple. The composition is simplified by the omission of three female figures and the blackamoor (the latter's parasol being left suspended in the air without visible support). The costumes were already archaic when Bonnart executed his engraving. The architectural features have been simplified, and the neo-classical statues on the balustrade have been transformed into female figures promenading on the roof. The tree in the background has been changed into a flowering tree, with flowers and foliage related to those at plates 9 and 31. The leaves with dots along their edges are found also in the piece dated 1764 at plate 17. The conventional markings on the trunk of the tree are found at plate 15. The shading of the garments calls for comparison with plate 72. The border is repeated at fig.44, and a much reduced version is incorporated in the design of the man's gown at plate 150b. Guard borders are repeated at plates 15, 17 and 72. The same rather strident blue is a feature of cat. nos. 19, 23 and 49. The story of Don Quixote was a recurring theme of French tapestries in the eighteenth century (eg. Sotheby sale on 8th December, 1967, when four such tapestries were sold for £200,000). Don Quixote and Sancho Panza have also appeared on Chinese 'export' dishes (eg. Sotheby sale on 20th February, 1968).

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1937. Loan no. L2705.14, cat. no. 30.

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73
Plate 72
Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Mid-18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.10 (neg. no. ROMA2104). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

8ft 3½in (252·8cm) × 5ft 8in (172·7cm).

Colours: 3 reds, varying shades of violet and blue, yellow and black. Outlines black except for red in guard borders. Overpainting for green.

A pictorial design depicting a group of figures under a tree, including a flautist, two female figures, and a youth. In the background there is a creeper-covered tree. The wide borders have bunches of flowers linked by twisted and looping stems. There is a narrow blue band around the outer edge.

The source of the figures in the design is perhaps one or more European engravings. The rustic scene and the closely grouped figures and treatment of background foliage also suggest a ceramic source. Stylistically it has several points in common with the hanging at plate 71, for instance the drawing of the figures, with heavy bands of shading along the edges of the costume, the way details of costume are suggested, and the arrangement of tufts of grass across the foreground. Colour combinations are also similar. A variant of the border recurs at plate 59, and the guard borders are almost identical with those at plates 15, 17 and 71.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. 2689–3, catalogue no. 27.

74
Plate 73
Bedspread bearing the Royal Stuart arms: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the English market. Provenance unknown. 17th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS21–1956 (neg. no. Z750 and Q1303, detail of crest). Given by Mrs E. A. Mauns.

8ft 1in (245cm) × 6ft 11in (212cm). Selvage to selvage 3ft 7in (109cm).

[22] Entry in Evelyn's Diary June 9, 1661 '... I first saw the famous *Queen Pine* brought from Barbados and presented to his Majestie; but the first that were ever seen in England were those sent to Cromwell foure years since.'
[23] There are several versions of this undocumented painting. The title was given to it by Horace Walpole who saw it in 1780.
[24] For instance, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no.28.159.3 and another piece in National Museum, New Delhi (John Irwin, 'Golconda cotton painting in the early seventeenth century', *Lalit Kala*, no.5, 1958, figs.16 and 19).

Fig. 44. Chinoiserie hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Coromandel Coast, mid 18th century. 173cm × 246cm. *Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, acc. no. 21817*

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets and black. Outlines black. There are signs of one or more colours having been applied by brush but now almost entirely faded.

There is a large circular medallion in the centre containing the Stuart arms. At intervals, around the gadrooned edge, are eight foliate palmettes. The surrounding field is filled with rows of alternating beasts and plants. The animals include an elephant, a buffalo, a Chinese *Hsieh-Chai*. The plants have a large fanciful flower and grow from diminutive mounds. There is the upper half of a plant resembling a pineapple at the centre edge of each side, and a foliate palmette surmounting a pointed medallion in each bottom corner. A palmette-cum-medallion is partly visible at the right bottom corner, and smaller truncated sections of the same palmette appear at the other corners. The bedspread is composed of three lengths of cotton, the centre one a full width. There are selvage edges at both joins which have been made after painting and are not well matched. The piece was originally a rectangular palampore and subsequently cut and tailored to fit a particular bed. The boundary line between the top and the sides has been marked by an applied green silk tape.

This is a puzzling piece and it is not possible to say with certainty whether the Stuart coat-of-arms is contemporary with Charles I or II. Many of the details, including the palmettes, are reminiscent of those found in Golconda chintzes of the first half of the seventeenth century (see plate 1). It is unlikely, however, that this piece is of Golconda origin, since the technical features and the drawing are coarse, and the dyes have none of the qualities which made Golconda chintz so justly famous. The inclusion of a pineapple in a design bearing the Stuart arms calls to mind Evelyn's reference to the introduction of the pineapple into England,[22] and the well-known painting said to depict 'Mr Rose, the Royal Gardener, presenting to King Charles II the First Pineapple grown in England'.[23] The pineapple also occurs in Golconda cotton-paintings made for the Indo-Persian market.[24] The incorporation of the royal arms does not necessarily imply royal possession, since it was quite usual in the seventeenth

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century for J.P.s, magistrates, and others in the King's service to sport the royal arms. If reconstructed on the assumption that the original coverlet was composed of three selvage-to-selvage widths, the result would be a width of 10ft $8\frac{3}{4}$in (337cm), including a border about 18in wide. These dimensions are consistent with contemporary orders (see pp. 27–8).

75
Plate 74a
Part of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM53–1919 (neg. no. Z1191 and FH343).

8ft 6in (259cm) × 2ft 3in (68·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

The design consists of a central eight-pointed floral medallion and an arched medallion in each corner. At each end there is a large foliate palmette from which two branches, bearing smaller flowers and long dentated leaves, extend. One half of the design shows on this piece. Down the right edge, where a centre seam would occur, there is a thin black line and a selvage.

The flowers and foliage bear some relation to plates 8 and 9, some being edged with small circles. Cf. also plate 13.

76
Plate 74b
Part of two Palampores: painted and dyed cotton. Market uncertain. Probably Burhanpur, North Deccan. 18th century, first part.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS133–1950 (neg. no. Z1179). Given by G. P. Baker.

7ft 5in (226cm) × 6ft 4in (193cm).

Colours: red, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

Parts of two palampores of the same design have been sewn together near the centre. There is part of a central floral medallion showing at the edge of the left half, and an elliptical corner medallion at the top of the right half with a small palmette extension. The red ground of the field is filled with flowers resembling irises or lilies and multi-petalled flowerheads. Those in the right part are drawn with more detail than those in the left part. Near the right edge there is a vertical join of two selvage edges, sewn after painting.

The design is stylistically similar to fig.22, where close parallel lines are also used to suggest form and shading.

77
Plate 75
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 962.107.1 (neg. no. 62AA341 and 342).

8ft $7\frac{1}{2}$in (262·8cm) × 7ft 1in (215·8cm). Repeat 1ft $9\frac{1}{4}$in (54cm) approximately.

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow. Outlines violet and red. Overpainting for green and black. Blue very much lighter in centre than at edges.

The design has an eight-pointed floral medallion with sharply dentated edges in the centre. In each corner there is a similar three-pointed floral motif. The field is filled with floral meanders stemming from each end. They repeat both horizontally and vertically and meet at the centre. The border is a modification of the floral field design on a red ground. It repeats continuously around all four sides. There are two inner guard borders, a wide one of a repeating upright pointed leaf motif on a violet ground reminiscent of Thai decorative convention, and a narrow one of repeating floret and leaf repeated as the outer guard border. The palampore is edged with a blue band.

The plan of this design recalls Persian medallion carpets. In this modified version the floral forms in the medallion are strongly Indo-Persian in character while the floral meander of the field and border contains many Western elements. The latter may have derived from Western embroidery patterns of miscellaneous plants where birds and butterflies among the branches are also a common feature. The wide inner guard border is similar to those at plates 86 and 120–2 and to cat. no. 78. The narrow guard borders are the same as those on cat. no. 78.

78
Parts of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS139–1950 (neg. no. Z1191). Given by G. P. Baker.
Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.32 (neg. no. 62AA224). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

IS139–1950 5ft 11in (180·5cm) × 2ft 10in (86·5cm).
934.4.32 5ft $6\frac{1}{2}$in (166cm) × 1ft 9in (53·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

Only parts of the centre field, a side border, and an end border remain of this palampore. Three points of an eight-pointed flowery central medallion and a three-lobed corner motif show on IS139–1950. Flower sprays fill the field. The border is composed of the same flowers and foliage but arranged in a repeat. At the edges, where they occur, there is a blue band. At the right side of this piece there is a selvage. Fragment 934.4.32 is a pieced border length. One

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Fig. 45. March, from *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, by Robert Furber, 1730

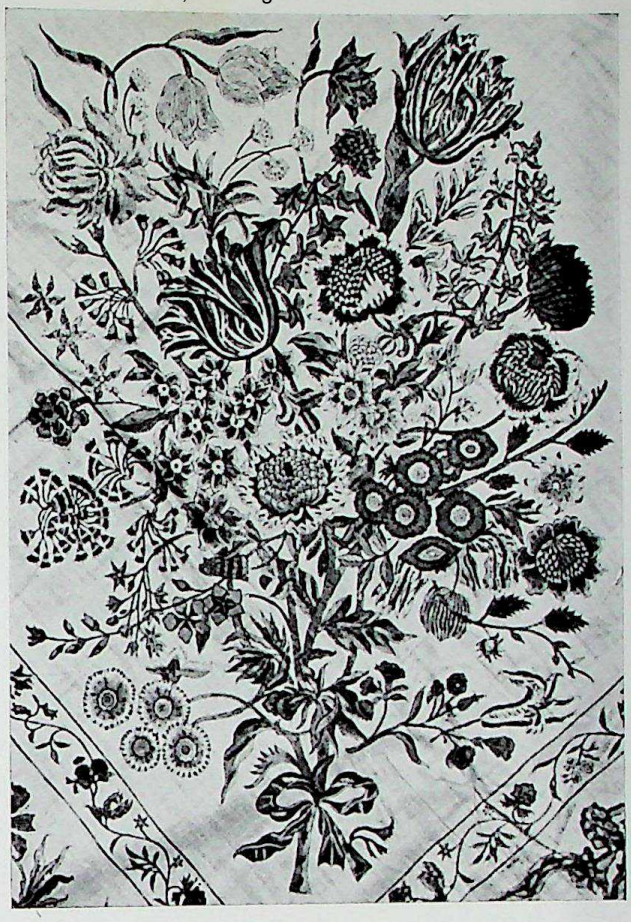

Fig. 46. Corner bouquet on palampore (plate 76) drawn from March in Furber's *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, 1730

fragment is from a side border and the other two, since they have raw edges, are parts of end borders.

The flowers and foliage are very similar to those on a chintz quilt in the Rijksmuseum (acc. no. KOG1238) which, because it bears the coat-of-arms of the Sweerts de Landas family, can be dated early eighteenth century. The inner guard border is similar to plates 75, 86, and 120–2. All the fragments are coarsely drawn.

79
Plate 76
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the English market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 1730–40.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.16 (neg. no. ROMA2090). Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection. Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

10ft 10½in (331·3cm) × 7ft 6in (228·6cm).
Bouquets 1ft 11⅝in–2ft 2¾in (60–68cm) × 1ft 5¾in (45cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, dull yellow and grey-black. Outlines black, in the border red. Overpainting for green, orange and red-violet. Glazed.

The design has a mixed floral arrangement in the centre and a bouquet tied with ribbons in each corner set against a ground scattered with floral sprigs. The serpentine flowering branches in the border extend from pedestal urns in each corner and have large flowers resembling tulips, anemones, chrysanthemums, a rose, and a passion flower. They do not repeat. The guard borders are repeated floral meanders. There is a blue band at the edges, and in the upper left corner are ten short brocaded shots of red cotton.

The painting of this chintz is unusual. The Indian painter obviously worked from a muster drawn in considerable linear detail. Cross-hatching and line-shading are found on both the bouquets and scattered flower sprigs. It also seems probable that the muster was coloured, as washes of shading occur on some flowers. Both these shading techniques are foreign to Indian chintz painting, and are seldom used so extensively.

The bouquets are derived from five prints in a set of twelve engravings by H. Fletcher,[25] *The Twelve Months of Flowers* published in London by Robert Furber in 1730,[26] after paintings by Peter Casteels (see figs. 45, 47, 49, 51 and 53). The corner bouquets are from the months of March, April, June and July and the central arrangement is from August. The scattered sprigs and most of the flowers in the border are drawn from these same five engravings, and a few are from other prints in the set as well as other sources. Comparison with the engraved sources shows that the chintz versions and the engravings differ considerably (compare figs. 45–54). The bouquets on the palampore have been lifted from their vases, the stems reduced in number and tied with ribbon and the whole adjusted to fit within

[25] This may be Henry Fletcher who 'flourished about 1729' according to Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, London, 1918.
[26] A second edition entitled *The Flower Garden Displayed* came out in 1732 but these bouquets are drawn from the first edition.

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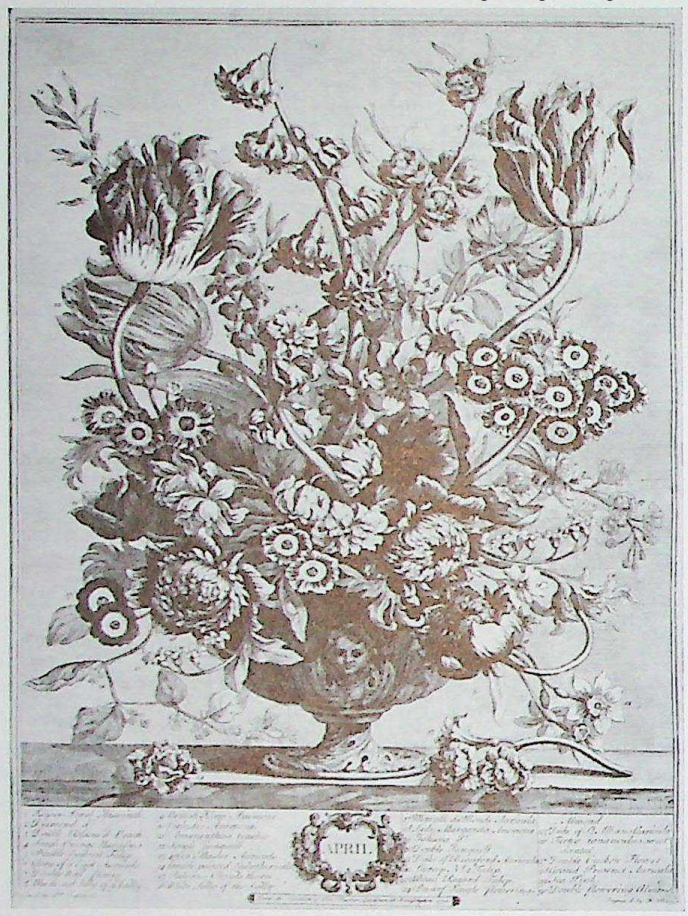

Fig. 47. April, from *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, by Robert Furber, 1730

Fig. 48. Corner bouquet on palampore (plate 76) drawn from April in Furber's *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, 1730

a rather longer and narrower rectangle than in the original engravings. A curious feature is that flowers lying beside the vases in the engravings have quite literally been lifted into the bouquets, no attempt having been made to adjust the stems. These changes appear to have been done by a Western hand. Other changes in flowers may have been done by the Indian cotton-painter. The large iris in the June bouquet is painted green and treated as the foliage of the small flower above it. It also occurs in this form in the border of this piece, and in the border at plate 27. The border is stylistically similar to that at plate 23.

A palampore of the same design is illustrated in G.P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 15, but the whereabouts of this palampore is now unknown. In the latter the bouquets are reversed and there are other differences in the proportions of the bouquets and in the drawing. It is not drawn from the same perforated outline as the Toronto palampore.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'An English Source of Chintz Design', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no. 1, 1955, pp.40–53.

80
Plate 77
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, second quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS46–1956 (neg. no. Z748).

8ft 6in (259cm) × 7ft 6in (228·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

In the centre of the field there is an urn decorated with a conventional representation of 'Nature being crowned by Love'. It contains a bouquet of flowers, and in each corner of the field there is a similar bouquet tied with a ribbon. The rest of the field is filled by a tracery of delicate stems interspersed with birds and bearing a wide variety of flowerheads. The border has a repeating design of slender floral meander dominated by a large carnation. The guard borders, and those around the corner bouquets, are composed of a blue stripe entwined with a leafy ribbon. There is a blue band around all four edges. The palampore is composed of two selvage to selvage widths of cotton joined after painting. At one time this palampore served as a quilt since stitch holes are still visible. All edges are bound with blue cotton.

The bouquets are similar to those at plate 76, but flowers and foliage are treated more decoratively and are drawn without hatching. The meandering branches are related to those at plates 79 and 80 (the latter being more coarsely drawn). There are also resemblances to some of the chain-stitch embroideries made for the Western market at the same period.

Exhibited: Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes de Mulhouse, exhibition entitled 'Journées indiennes', 1962, cat. no. 11.

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Fig. 49. June, from *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, by Robert Furber, 1730

Fig. 50. Corner bouquet on palampore (plate 76) drawn from June in Furber's *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, 1730

81
Plate 78
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). About 1740.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.7
(neg. no. ROMA2553). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

11ft 8in (356cm) × 8ft 9in (270cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design with a central eight-pointed medallion of scrolling foliage, flowers and confronting animals, surrounded by floral branches, and a mock-heraldic device in each corner. An heraldic lion of Western origin occupies the central space of the medallion. The branches growing from each end of the field have composite flowers, some resembling peonies. The varied fauna incorporated in the design includes phoenixes and Ch'i-lins. The border has rows of little mounds with small plants interspersed with birds and beasts. The guard borders are scrolling stems bearing flowers. The palampore is composed of a narrow length of cotton with a wider length sewn to each side. The joins have been made after painting. Selvages occur at the right hand edge of the centre strip and at the inner edges of the side pieces.

The plan of the design is related to plates 79 and 80. The central medallion is especially close to plate 80, while the corner decorations are a variant of both. In this piece the surrounding branches are rather more luxuriant. The border is a more elaborate version of the border at plate 79 except that in this case the pattern in one corner turns on the diagonal instead of at a right angle. There are scraps of a similar border at plate 153b and a related guard border at plates 68b and 69, reminiscent of borders on cotton girdles (*patkas*) and prayer mats from Western India. There are blue 'cracks' at the selvage edges.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. 2689.8. Cat. no. 36

82
Plate 79
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS32–1950
(neg. no. 1119). Given by G. P. Baker.

12ft 7in (383·3cm) × 9ft 3in (281·8cm)
selvage to selvage 3ft 4⅞in (104cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, dull yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

Floral meanders and scrollwork in the Renaissance style form a central medallion and frame a pelican in her piety. It is surrounded by a sphinx sejant and, below, a lion couchant gardant. A decorative coat of arms in which

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Fig. 51. July, from *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, by Robert Furber, 1730

Fig. 52. Corner bouquet on palampore (plate 76) drawn from July in Furber's *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, 1730

confronting greyhounds rampant and addorsed greyhounds couchant are the main heraldic devices form the corner motifs. The field is filled by two pairs of confronting flowering branches stemming from each end. There are several long-tailed birds. The guard borders have orange grounds (yellow over red speckling). The panel is composed of two selvage to selvage widths joined after painting to a narrow central width. Only the left selvage remains on the right hand length. The centre strip has a selvage on the left side.

The design is related to those at plates 78 and 80. Compare also the flowering branches and the corner coats-of-arms with the same two pieces.

83
Plate 80
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.9 (neg. no. ROMA2091). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

8ft 4½in (255cm) × 4ft 8in (144cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

An eight-pointed medallion in the centre encloses a cockerel and two small birds preying on two phoenixes. Each segment of the medallion contains a coat of arms, the alternate ones with supporting greyhounds. The same coat-of-arms with more elaborate mantling appears in each corner. The ground is filled with two slender meandering flowering trees which grow from small mounds at the centre of each end. The design is interspersed with birds, beasts and insects. The palampore is made up of two lengths of cotton with selvage edges joined down the centre after painting. There are no borders and it is backed with linen.

This design is related to plates 78 and 79, the former having a similar centre medallion, the latter similar corner motifs. The slender meandering branches are reminiscent of those in Indian chainstitch embroideries made for the European market. The coat-of-arms may originally have been a genuine one, but the helm and the chain of office (or garter) which surrounds the crest are barely recognisable as such, and the charges on the crest are not decipherable. The linen backing extends beyond the edges of the chintz, and rusty nail holes at intervals and the degree of fading indicate use as a wall panel over a long period.

84
Plate 81
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

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Fig. 53. August, from *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, by Robert Furber, 1730

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 246–1902
(neg. no. 53820).

10ft 2½in (311cm) × 7ft 7¼in (231·6cm).
Selvage to selvage 3ft 9¾in (116cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 browns, blue, and black. Outlines black and red.

The design is centred upon a coat-of-arms (gules, a lozenge between four horseshoes; the crest, a pegasus facing to dexter). The crest is repeated in each of the four corners of the field. Two pairs of profusely flowering branches with many different kinds of flowers and fruit (some resembling carnations, marigolds, lilies, grapes and pomegranates) stemming from small mounds. The border of repeated slender meandering branches bearing flowers and foliage is drawn on a smaller scale from those in the field. The red ground guard borders have repeated leaf meanders in white. The palampore is composed of two selvage to selvage widths of cotton joined after painting. There is a blue band at the edges.

The drawing of flowers and foliage recalls the samples collected by Beaulieu about 1734 (see Appendix 'A'). A number of the flowers in the field (marigolds, lilies and honeysuckle) are found in contemporary European embroidery. Flowers and foliage usually associated with flowering tree designs appear in the field and border. The guard borders are the same as those at plates 60a and 113 and are similar to those at plate 114.

Fig. 54. Centre bouquet on palampore (plate 76) drawn from August in Furber's *The Twelve Months of Flowers*, 1730

85
Plate 82
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (probably Negapatam region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 340–1898
(neg. nos. 53679 and 53680).

8ft 8½in (265cm) × 8ft 6¼in (260cm).
Repeat 2ft 2in (66cm) × 1ft 5⅜in (44cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

The coat-of-arms of the city of Amsterdam appears in the centre and in each corner of the field. The rest of the field is filled with a repeating arrangement of fanciful leaves and flowers, some intersected at the edges. The border is a repeated floral spray. The guard-borders are composed of small formalised leaf-motifs. The palampore consists of two selvage-to-selvage widths of cloth joined after painting. There is a light blue band around the outer edge.

The foliage is of a kind often found in the Indian chintz costumes of Friesland, the Netherlands. The guard-borders are repeated at plate 83, and are close to those at plate 84. The linear shading and cross-hatching in the coat-of-arms suggests that it was copied from an engraved source. A chintz quilt in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, bears arms apparently copied from the same source, and the guard borders are identical, but the rest of the design is different.

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86
Plate 83
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (probably Negapatam region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS37–1950 (neg. no. H1045). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft 7in (324·5cm) × 8ft 7in (261·5cm). Selvage to selvage 4ft 4in (132cm). Repeat 1ft 9⅝in (55cm) × 1ft 5in (43cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

There is a coat-of-arms in the centre and in each corner of the field. A repeated design of slender, meandering branches with fanciful flowers and foliage, extends the length and width of the palampore. The narrow guard borders are drawn to appear as figured tapes applied over the design. They have a repeated lobe-like leaf pattern. The palampore is composed of two selvage-to-selvage widths of cotton which have been joined after painting. There are three weft stripes across the top of the right-hand length, two composed of single shots and one of two shots of red cotton. Along all four edges there is a light-blue band.

The design recalls English crewel embroidery. The dominating leaf, and some of the small leaf-sprays, also recur in Indo-European embroidery. In some parts the drawing suggests lines of chain stitch. The pattern in the guard borders is the same as at plate 82, and similar to plate 84.

87
Plate 84
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made on private Dutch commission. Coromandel Coast (probably Negapatam region). About 1730.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS137–1950 (neg. no. 35963). Given by G. P. Baker.

9ft (274·2cm) × 7ft 1in (215·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black and red. No yellow remains.

In the centre of the field appears the coat-of-arms of J. C. Pielat (1692–1740), who was prominent in the affairs of the Dutch East India Company and served as Commissioner in Ceylon in 1732, from which post he was dismissed in the same year, returning to Holland via Batavia in 1734. The arms are repeated in each corner of the field. Two phoenixes encircle the arms in the centre, and the rest of the field is filled with mixed flower sprays, with two cranes among them. The border has a garland meander, and the guard borders have repeating lobe-like leaf-motifs. Around the outer edge is a narrow blue band, and reserved in white near the bottom left corner are Tamil characters reading *paramesuram*. The cloth is composed of two widths of cotton, joined before painting.

The same coat-of-arms appears on a small coverlet in possession of Mrs P. V. van Marle-van Beresteyn, of Wassenaar, Holland; a second coverlet in the same ownership bears Pielat's monogram. The phoenixes and cranes are derived from Chinese or Japanese art. The guard-borders are similar to those at plates 82 and 83.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico painting and printing in the East Indies*, plate 16.

88
Plate 85
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS41–1950 (neg. no. H1117). Given by G. P. Baker.

11ft 2in (340·3cm) × 8ft 4¾in (255·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A formal arrangement of large pointed palmettes fills the centre of the palampore. There is a small flower-filled shield in each corner suspended by ribbons from a foliate palmette. The panel is finished with a narrow border simulating a fringe. There are four short lines of brocaded cotton at the selvage edge of the lower right corner.

The palmette motifs are enlargements of those appearing in damasks and velvets of the first half of the eighteenth century. Two palampores with identical designs (one chintz, the second an embroidery) are preserved in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Large palmettes of the same type also appear in the chintz costumes of Friesland, the Netherlands.

89
Wall Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.8 (neg. no. ROMA2101). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

3ft 2½in (96cm) × 4ft 8in (149cm). Central panel selvage to selvage – 2ft 10⅝in (88cm). Repeat in central panel 1ft 2¼in (36cm) × 9¾in (25cm).

Colours: Central panel: 2 reds, blue and black. Outlines black.
Coat-of-arms: 2 reds, brown (originally violet?), blue, tawny yellow and black. Outlines black.
Inner guard border: 2 reds, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.
Border: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue and black. Outlines black and red.

This panel is a composite piece. It consists of a selvage-to-selvage length of red-ground chintz with a repeated pattern of fanciful flowers, a serpentine floral border from a large palampore, and a considerably pieced inner guard-border from yet other palampores. The central coat-of-arms has

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been applied and its edges covered with silk tape. The coat-of-arms, which has not been identified, has an oval shield, azure, with bend and three mullets of five points and a decrescent. Placed on it is a helm affronté. The crest is a demi-lion rampant and the supporters are rampant lions. The hanging is backed with heavy linen and along the edges of all four sides are rusted nail holes.

The complex repeating design in the central panel (possibly from Madura), is delicately drawn on a very small scale. There is a considerable amount of line shading on the foliage and it is possible that the design may have been adapted from a woodblock print. The coat-of-arms is probably French or Dutch. The inner guard-border has been pieced with bits from different sources. The wide floral border is stylistically later than the central panel.

90

Plate 86

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 963.13
(neg. no. 63AA92)

12ft (366cm) × 8ft 11¼in (272cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

The design is composed of a large central medallion and four pointed corner motifs. These and the field are filled with a repeating pattern of a rocky landscape with pine tree and birds. The pattern has been modified to fit the different shapes and sizes of the areas which contain it and all intervening spaces have been filled with flights of little birds and florets composed of dots. The border has alternating repeats of two parts of the same design. Around the edge is a blue band. The dyes are unfaded and the whole piece is in pristine condition. Along the side edges, and at right angles to them, fine blue lines occur, at three inch intervals, where wax has cracked when folded for indigo dyeing.

This is a difficult piece to place, but is clearly related to other chintzes based on Japanese painted and stencilled cottons from Okinawa. A panel made up of yardage of the same design, drawn to the same scale, but on a red ground is shown at fig.55. The inner guard border is related to those at plates 75 and 120–2, and the narrow ones are similar to those at plate 94.

91

Plate 87

Fragment of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS53–1950
(neg. no. FE1612). Given by G. P. Baker.

5ft 3in (160cm) × 3ft 5in (104·2cm).

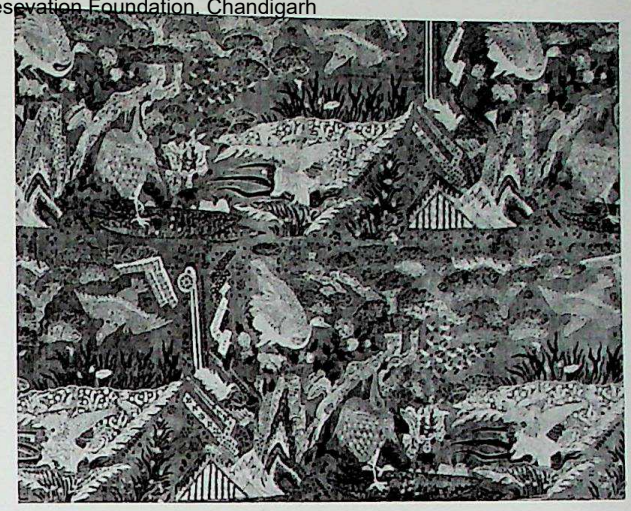

Fig. 55. Yardage, painted and dyed cotton. Repeat 82·5cm × 78·5cm. *Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, acc. no. 1959.146.1*

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue and black. Outlines red and black.

The field is filled with a symmetrical arrangement of flowing water, scattered groups of flowers, and yellow-ground reserves across which fly crested cranes, long-tailed swallows and other birds. There is a matching border at the right and across the bottom. The guard borders are floral meanders and at the right edge is a blue band.

This appears to be a copy of a Japanese painted and stencilled cotton of the Okinawa school (see also plate 86). There is a palampore with a comparable design at the Hindelopen Museum, Friesland, the Netherlands.

92

Plate 88

Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Mid-18th century, or earlier.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS141–1950
(neg. no. H1132). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft 8in (324·8cm) × 7ft (213cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green, orange and red-violet.

Groups of Chinese figures are depicted in a circular central reserve and in fruit-shaped corner reserves against a red speckled ground. Other details scattered on the ground include a Chinese standing female figure, a canopy, a crane, and a crab, flying birds and butterflies, and small upright plants growing from corms. The border is a repeat of four different pots of flowers interspersed with birds and butterflies. The guard borders have lotus flowers with scrolling stems and foliage. The palampore is composed of two lengths of cotton with a selvage to selvage seam down the centre. The edges are bound with striped tape. Red and green are the predominating colours.

Most of the details in this design are taken from Chinese art (probably embroidery). The only purely Indian motifs are the small upright flowering plants in the field (cf. plate 3a).

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93
Plate 89
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). Western India. 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS31–1950 (neg. no. H1130). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft 8in (324·8cm) × 7ft (213·3cm). Warps in pairs.

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

The design has a small circular medallion in the centre and a pointed cone in each corner. All are formed of floral wreaths surrounding a heraldic shield. The border has heavy conspicuously patterned flowering branches.

The floral wreaths surrounding the shields are diminutive variants of the border design. They and the border itself are stylistically related to those at plates 10 and 11. Exposed roots are seldom found in border designs. The rings around the trunk, and just above the vase, are derived from the Indian painter's practice of showing the complete ellipse of the mouth of a vase, see plates 10 and 14. The outer guard border is almost identical to those at plate 10, and similar to those at plate 23. Variants of this palampore design are to be found in Dutch collections. A Western Indian chainstitch embroidered palampore with a more refined version of the same border is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (IS249–1950).

94
Plate 90
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS35–1950 (neg. nos. 1046 and H1044 (detail)).
Fragments nos. IS35a and b–1950 (neg. no. Z1207). Given by G. P. Baker.

Palampore 9ft 6¼in (290·3cm) × 7ft ½in (214·8cm).
Fragment a 9ft 8¼in (295·3cm) × 10in (25·5cm).
Fragment b 9ft 6in (289·5cm) × 10¼in (26cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The large flower growing from a small mound in the centre of the palampore distantly resembles a tulip. There is a large cornucopia filled with flowers in each corner. The border is a zigzag of two twisted cords with what appears to be a bunch of celery and a tulip held between the cords at each turn.

Large flowerheads stemming from small mounds are a feature of the Early Coromandel Group. Variants may be seen in the palampore bearing the Stuart arms at plate 73 and in the fragment at plate 149b. The cornucopiae are similar to those at plate 91. The same border with minor variations occurs at plate 30.

95
Plate 91
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS40–1950 (neg. no. H1131). Given by G. P. Baker.

11ft 3in (342·8cm) × 8ft 4in (253·9cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red-violet.

The centre and corners of the field are occupied by floral cornucopiae, the former being slightly smaller and surrounded by a leaf-chain arranged in four lobes. The border has two repeating motifs of composite formation. The outer guard border is composed of tiny treelets.

The flowers and foliage are stylistically similar to those in costume chintzes of the same period (see plates 135 and 136), and also those in the upper parts of petticoats at plates 98a and b. The outer guard border of tiny plants is somewhat similar to that at plate 90. UEIC seal on reverse.

96
Plate 60a
Fragments of a border: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European Market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Late 17th or early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.33 a and b (neg. no. 67TEX178). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

943.4.33 a 3ft 4¼in (102cm) × 10in (25·5cm).
934.4.33 b 4ft 10⅞in (150cm) × 10½in (26.5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and grey. Outlines grey and red. Overpainting for green.

The design consists of a repeat of long dentated leaves and a large stylised flower-head alternating with a peacock. Fragment (a) consists of a complete corner; and (b), part of a corner. There is some variation in guard-border motifs. Both fragments have a blue band at the outer edge.

Both pieces are apparently borders from a palampore (one from the top or bottom, and the other from the side).

97
Side Border of a Palampore: made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.31 (neg. no. 62AA215). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

11ft (335cm) × 1ft 5¼in (44cm approx.).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and blue-violet.

A border design of plants growing on small rockeries, some with narrow pointed leaves resembling irises. They extend

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the entire length of the border without turning at either end. The guard borders have a stylised arrangement of flowers and scroll foliage on a red ground. What remains of the centre is filled with small flowers and foliage in reserves. There is a selvage down the left side.

The design is reminiscent of iris sprays growing from chinoiserie rockeries in Persian silks of the seventeenth century. The application of mordants has been careless except on the outlines which are drawn with some skill.

98

Plate 92

Napkin: painted and dyed cotton. Made on private French commission. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T5–1913 (neg. no. 36590).

2ft 4⅞in (73·5cm) × 3ft 8⅞in (114cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Painted on both sides.

In the centre of the field appears the coat-of-arms of Michel Bégon and Elizabeth Beauharnais, who were married in 1711. The field is otherwise plain except for floral bouquets in the corners. The surrounding border has foliate palmettes linked by flower and foliage meander. The design has been painted on both sides of the cloth, but the matching does not extend to the small filler-patterns. There are selvages at both sides.

The style is influenced by the designs of Jean Berain (1638–1711). Another similar napkin is preserved in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, acc. no. 19145.

99

Plate 93

Two Chair-Seat Covers: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), c. 1800.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 959.249 (neg. no. 23W60). Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS205–1959.

2ft 11½in (90cm) × 2ft 6¼in (77cm). Selvages at sides.

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed. Gold leaf applied.

The design of a bouquet of roses tied with ribbon is surrounded by a meander of rose buds, and a wide rose-garland border. The latter is intended to hang down at each side of the chair seat and match when stitched together at each corner. Between the meander and the garland borders two small rectangles indicate where the back supports of the chair were intended to fit. All the outlines and some details are gilded.

The two seat covers were cut from a length of cotton which had six cover designs painted on it. The other four are now in the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad. The garland borders are similar to those at plate 52, which is also gilded.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'Recent Additions to the Chintz Collections', *Annual Report Art and Archaeology Division, The Royal Ontario Museum*, 1960, pp.54–9.

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Costume

100
Plate 94
Handkerchief: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T173–1921 (neg. no. 53695).

3ft 9in (115·5cm) × 3ft 10in (117cm)

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and red-violet.

The scene depicted in the central octagon is from La Fontaine's fable *The Lion, the Monkey and the Two Asses*. The lion sits on a high-backed chair and the monkey sits on the ground before him. The two asses stand at the left. The wide border is a formal arrangement of foliate scrolls and other ornament on which small owls perch. Both the inner guard border and that around the octagon have leaf meanders in white and violet on a red ground.

The border is in the Berainesque style found in furnishing chintzes of the first half of the eighteenth century (see plates 66 to 68). The border around the octagon is the same as the guard border at plate 86. The source of the La Fontaine illustration has not been traced.

101
Plate 95
Handkerchief: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS166–1950 (neg. no. Z1180). Given by G. P. Baker.

2ft 10¼in (87cm) × 2ft 10⅝in (88cm).
Repeat 5¼in (14cm) × 6¼in (16cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Reversible.

On each side there is a design with a cluster of flowers in the centre and in each corner. The field is filled with a repeating pattern of flower sprigs. The border is a running meander of flowers and foliage interspersed with birds. All four edges are hemmed. In one corner there are two initials (one is the letter P) worked in overcasting with white linen thread.

This is one of the few surviving examples of 'reversible' cotton-paintings. References appearing in the records suggest that many were made, but they were probably mostly handkerchiefs and treated as expendable, which would explain why so few have survived.

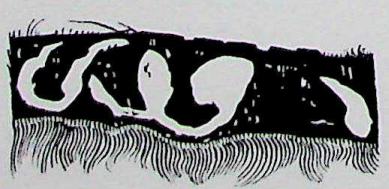
102
Plate 96
Man's Morning Gown: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 959.112 (neg. no. 110W59, inscription 63AA334). Holt Renfrew and Company Limited Fund.

4ft 6⅜in (138cm) × 6ft 3¾in (192cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The design, which is drawn to fit the shape of the garment, consists of a flowering tree bearing Japanese pine branches and prunus blossoms on a red ground. It grows from a small scale mound and the branches extend over the back and fronts and down the sleeves. The narrow floral borders, or edgings, are painted in one piece with the design. The gown is composed of one selvage to selvage width, 3ft 3⅜in (100cm), with a narrow piece stitched to each side before painting. These pieces have selvages at their outer edges only. Small triangular pieces are inserted at the shoulders, and there is a narrow stand-up collar which buttons at the throat, slit pockets at the side seams and a much patched lining. Along the edges of the hem and sleeves is a dark blue band with an inscription in indecipherable characters (possibly Persian).



The tree design is inspired by a contemporary Japanese style of kimono decoration in which the pine, bamboo and prunus are intermingled under the name 'the three friends', symbolising the noble virtues of a gentleman. In its original form the gown had much wider sleeves and these were probably narrowed about the third quarter of

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the century. Strips from the sleeves were used to make the collar.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L2710.2, Cat. no. 336.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'The Japanese Style in Indian Chintz', *Journal of Indian Textile History*, no. 5, 1960, pp.42–50.

103
Plate 97
Shaving Cloth: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the English market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS243–1961 (neg. no. Z952). Given by Lady Elton.

3ft 8½in (113cm) × 3ft 6½in (108cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The field has three flower clusters, the largest in the centre. There are five floral garlands across the bottom with a flower sprig above each. The border curves at the top to fit around the neck of the wearer but the cotton has never been cut; there are selvages at both sides. Robert Lennox, whose initials are worked in cross stitch with black silk in the upper left corner, was Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough (Sumatra) 1736–44. He resigned the service in 1745–46 in Madras and returned to England before 1754.

The flower spray in the centre is stylistically similar to that at plate 149a. The treatment of foliage and use of black only for outlines suggests that this piece may belong to the group which includes plates 23, 24 and 135.

104
Plate 158
Part of Man's unmade Waistcoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 1780–90.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 961.179.1 (neg. no. 64TEX25).

2ft 9⅛in (84cm) × (greatest) 2ft (62cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

The right front of a waistcoat, two pocket flaps with running meander borders of roses and other small flowers and thirteen small circles (intended to cover buttons) containing a flower sprig. Indigo blue appears to be painted on. A little of the border design on the waistcoat has been covered by embroidery in coloured silks. There is a selvage at the right side.

Chintz was fashionable summer wear for men in the eighteenth century. The style of the floral border resembles woodblock printed cottons of the period.

105
Plate 98a
Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS13–1950 (neg. no. H1234). Given by G.P.Baker.

3ft 4½in (103cm) × 9ft 9in (297cm). Repeat 1ft 7¾in (50cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The border has conventional flame-like arches framing, alternately, scenes with human figures beneath a fanciful rose bush and a vase of flowers. The scenes depict the spearing of a tiger on one hand and a conversation piece on the other. The remainder of the design is filled with a repeating pattern of floral hillocks interspersed with butterflies and flower-vases. Along the selvage edge, hidden by the hem, is a blue band. The design almost matches at the join which occurs just to the left of the centre box pleat. The petticoat is pleated to a narrow waistband. Almost three and a quarter inches and a selvage edge have been turned under at the top.

The design is stylistically similar to plate 98b. Both have areas of seaweed patterning and pointed, arching motifs. The figure groups recall those at plate 100. These characteristics are to be found in chintz petticoats in Dutch collections, suggesting that the design was made for the Dutch taste.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L27052. Cat. no. 348.

106
Plate 98b
Parts of a petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS48–1950 and IS48A–1950 (neg. no. H1233). Given by G.P.Baker.

3ft 2¾in (97·7cm) × 6ft 1in (184·7cm).
Repeat 2ft 4in (71cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The border design has repeating conventional foliage arches, each enclosing a floral arrangement. The rest of the design is filled with chain-linked floral clusters featuring birds and butterflies. The detail includes a free use of seaweed pattern as a ground for leaf forms.

The design is technically and stylistically similar to plate 98a. It is a type with many variants.

107
Fragments of a petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

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Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.60 a and b (neg. no. 67TEX184). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

934.4.60 a 3ft (91·5cm) × 1ft 6¼in (46·5cm).
934.4.60 b 1ft 5½in (44cm) × 1ft 2½in (37cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and brown.

Both pieces are from the lower part of a petticoat with a repeating design composed of a flowering plant in a small jar. On each side of the jar is a curving spray of flowers in which a tulip, a carnation, and a rose are recognisable. Around and below them are lacy rococo bands.

The design is stylistically related to plate 98a and is in Dutch taste. The drawing of foliage and branches shows similarities with the palampore at plate 17, which bears a Dutch East India Company stamp and the date 1764.

108
Plate 99
Bedspread made out of a petticoat length: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS42–1950 (neg. no. H1115 (detail), and H1116). Given by G. P. Baker.

8ft 2in (248·8cm) × 7ft 1in (215·8cm).
Repeat 5ft 1in (155cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

The border design of the petticoat material, which forms the border of the bedspread on three sides, has pointed arches composed of floral garlands. Within each arch are groups of figures in domestic scenes and wearing early 18th century costume. Four scenes repeat alternately: a promenade with umbrella and lute; two figures seated at a gateleg table arranging flowers; two seated figures beneath a chandelier, one playing a dulcimer and the other a transverse flute; and two figures seated at a gateleg table taking refreshment. At the selvage edges is a blue band. Small vases of flowers and foliage palmettes on a yellow vermicelli ground fill the upper part of the petticoat material. There are thirteen short brocaded shots of red cotton indicating where the design begins. The bedspread is composed of two long petticoat pieces joined down the centre. The end border is composed of a carefully applied piece from another section of the petticoat's border.

The design is stylistically related to the petticoat at plate 100, and the figures are somewhat similar to those at plate 98a. The figures in all three designs have either two left hands or two right hands. The garlands and vases of flowers are stylistically Persian. The vermicelli ground is like those in palampores of the third quarter of the eighteenth century and later.

Exhibited: Exposition de Toiles Peintes Anciennes des Indes. Mulhouse, 1962. Cat. no. 15.

Bibliography: P.R. Schwartz, 'Les Toiles Peintes Indiennes', *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, 1962, p.23.

109
Plate 100
Part of a Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS49–1950 (neg. no. FD879). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 1in (94cm) × 3ft 1¼in (95·5cm).

Colours: reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

The border design has two alternating scenes with human figures, each scene being partially framed by an ornamental balustrade. One depicts a courting couple, and the second a hunter with spear advancing on a preying tiger. The balustrade is embellished with flowering trees, urns, peacocks and a statue. The upper part of the petticoat is filled with a repeating pattern of small bouquets with slender trailing flower-sprays. There is a blue band along the selvage.

This design is related in style to plates 98a and 99.

110
Plate 101
Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS14–1950 (neg. No. X1263). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 8in (111·7cm). Circumference 9ft 9in (297cm).
Repeat 3ft 1in (94cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and some violet.

The design consists of two alternating plants each bearing varied flowers and foliage. The petticoat is pleated into a narrow waistband with openings at the sides. The join occurs to the right of the box pleat at centre front. About eight and a half inches, with a selvage edge, have been turned under at the top.

Several leaves and flowers resemble those in flowering tree palampores at plates 8 and 9, notably the large dentated leaf with turned-over tip, the pair of pointed leaves, and the rose with a leaf in front of it. Here the leaf's position has been misunderstood and it grows from the centre of the rose. The plant is similar to those embroidered for chair-seat covers of the period.

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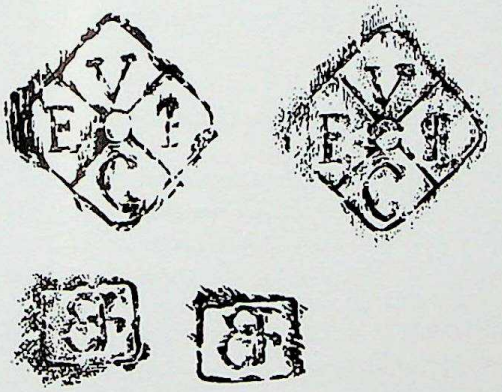
111
Plate 102
Two Petticoats: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T.87–1923 and IS107–1950 (neg. no. 53823). The latter was given by G.P. Baker.

3ft 7¾in (111cm) × 11ft 5⅞in (348cm).
Repeat 1ft 7½in (49·5cm).

Colours: black only. Glazed.

The repeating design of the two identical petticoats is of two alternating sprays radiating from a small flowerhead and terminating below with looped fruiting and flowering sprays. Above them are arching garlands and slender looping stems bearing stylised flowers. The petticoats are closely pleated into narrow waistbands of patterned tape like that on Hindelopen *wentken*. There is a United East India Company stamp and a Tamil seal on each petticoat inside the hem on a facing of the petticoat material.



The symmetrical arrangement of the sprays resembles the polychrome design at plate 103a; but the general boldness of style is a special characteristic of designs in black (cf. plate 109). Garments of this kind were probably intended as mourning wear.

112
Plate 103a
Petticoat material: painted and dyed cotton. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.45
(neg. no. ROMA2044). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.
Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

9ft 10in (301cm) × 3ft 6¾in (111cm).
Repeat 1ft 6½in (47cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow and black.
Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red-violet. Glazed.

The border is a repeating bouquet of flowers resembling roses and a running pattern of arched, lattice-patterned, scrolled arabesques decorated with small flower sprays along the edges. The upper part of the petticoat is filled with flower sprays on very slender curving stems. The length may not be quite complete as the pattern does not match at the ends. There are selvage edges along the top and bottom.

The drawing of the flowers is similar to those at plate 104 and the palampores at plates 38 and 39, and the contrast of weight between flowers and stems is a feature of plate 104.

Exhibited: Exhibition of Persian Art, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (au Pavillon de Marsan au Louvre). 1912.

113
Fragment of a petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS151–1950
(neg. no. Z1206). Given by G.P. Baker.

2ft 8in (81·5cm) × 1ft ½in (32cm). Repeat 1ft 8¾in (52·8cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black.
Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

The border design is composed of a wide irregular rococo band, with scrolling edges, which supports three alternating flower sprays. A garland of small flowers, fruits, and leaves is suspended below it. The design is not complete. Along the bottom edge is a selvage and a blue band.

The convention of flower sprays sprouting from a scrolling rococo band is somewhat similar to that found at plate 103a.

114
Plate 103b
Cope made from a petticoat length: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region).
18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS108–1950
(neg. no. Z1196 and 1197 detail). Given by G.P. Baker.
Formerly in the possession of C.A. Griffith.

4ft (122cm) × 9ft 4½in (285·8cm).
Petticoat 3ft 8in (111·8cm). Repeat 2ft 10¼in (87cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Gilded.

The border has an undulating scalloped band and alternating floral motifs: a rose-spray, and an exotic type of plant with frond-like terminals. The rest of the design is a repeating pattern of these and other flower-sprays set in a kind of floral trellis. The entire ground is covered with a yellow lattice pattern: this and all other outlines are covered with applied gold leaf. There is a blue band along the bottom selvage, but not at the top. The semi-circular shape of the cope has been contrived by cutting the original petticoat length immediately above the border and easing it into the desired curve. Only the centre-back

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of the cope (thirty-one inches across) is left untailored. The pieces left over after cutting have been used for the hood and the strip across the top (as seen in the photograph). The latter would have been covered by an orphrey.

In the collections of the London Museum (acc. no. 58.40) there is a man's gown with a closely related design.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1929. Loan no. L2705.30. Cat. no. 360.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 24.

115

Fragment of a petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain). 18th century, second half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.29 a, b, c and d. (neg. no. ROMA2081). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

Repeat 1ft 7¼in (48·5cm approx.). When reconstructed 3ft 9⅜in (115cm approx.).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, orange and brown. Glazed.

The border pattern consists of cornucopiae and a chinoiserie rockery with rococo appendage from which grow sprays of flowers, some with foliage resembling bamboo. The upper part of the skirt is filled with bamboo trails surrounding little hillocks with small flowering and fruiting trees. Along the lower edge there is a selvage and a blue band. Part of a similar blue band is visible at the top. The fragments are much pieced.

A similar cornucopia of flowers appears in the design of a plate of French faience in the Royal Ontario Museum (acc. no. 957.57.6). The style of drawing, and certain touches of the chinoiserie, are paralleled in the palampore design at plate 37.

116

Plate 104

Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second half.

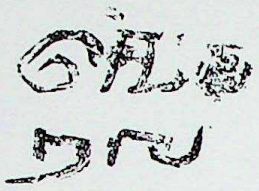
Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS21–1950 (neg. no. Z1183). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 2¼in (97cm) × 12ft 1¼in (365·9cm).
Repeat 1ft 6½in (47cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

The design is a flowering branch with flowers resembling peonies, tulips, and chrysanthemums stemming from an undulating garland of flowers. There is a blue band at the selvage edge and the beginning of the length is indicated by three groups of two short brocaded lines of red cotton. Just above these are letters in Tamil script. The design was intended to match at the seam but there is about seven and a quarter inches missing. The petticoat is pleated into a narrow waistband and has side openings.

The branch is stylistically similar to those at plate 103a.



Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of painted and printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Loan no. L2705.25, cat. no. 349.

117

Plate 105

Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS15–1950 (neg. no. Z1176). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 6½in (108cm) × 9ft 1⅞in (279cm).
Repeat 1ft 10¼in (56cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue. Outlines black. Glazed.

The main feature of the border is a large flower with small sprays radiating from it. On each side is a flower spray tied with a ribbon bow. The field has slender meandering branches bearing small flowers and foliage. At the selvage there is a blue band and, above, a red band with a herringbone pattern reserved in white. The petticoat is pleated into a waistband with a large box pleat at the centre-front.

Stylistically the meandering branches are similar to those at plate 129. The use of dotting on foliage and the strident blue are features of plates 17 and 150b. The narrow border along the bottom is the same as at plate 98b.

118

Plate 140a

Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS20–1950 (neg. no. Z1182). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 5⅜in (105cm) × 11ft ½in (336·8cm).
Repeat 1ft 6¼in (47cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, orange and red-violet. Glazed.

The design is a large mixed flower spray around the lower part of the petticoat and, above it, scattered sprays, some tied with ribbon. There are selvages at the top and bottom, and a blue band along the lower edge. The design does not match at the seam.

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The crisp drawing is similar to plate 143. Compare also plate 142.

119
Plate 106
Part of a petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS51–1950 (neg. no. Z1177). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 5¾in (106cm) × 4ft 5½in (136cm).
Repeat 1ft 6¾in (47·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

There are two alternating flowering plants, one bushy, the other spindly, around the bottom of the skirt. Below them there is an irregular line of scallops suggesting hillocks. The upper part of the petticoat is filled with small floral sprigs. There are selvages at top and bottom and a blue band at the bottom edge. Three groups of two shots of brocaded red cotton indicate the beginning of the design.

The drawing of flowers and foliage is similar to plates 140a and 38.

120
Plate 107
Part of a petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS54–1950 (neg. no. X1267). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 10⅞in (119cm) × 3ft 7¾in (111cm).
Repeat (upper part) 1ft 5⅜in (44cm) × 2ft ⅜in (62cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

The border is a continuous zigzag chain of flowers resembling roses and peonies with a narrow wavy border of tiny flower sprigs on a red ground below it. The upper part is filled with a repeating pattern of curving flower sprays reversing mirrorwise in alternating rows. The colours of the flowers are also reversed. There are selvages along the top and bottom of the piece.

The floral sprays are stylistically similar to those at plate 142, but much more coarsely drawn.

121
Plate 108
Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Probably from Western India. Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS59–1966 (neg. no. FG1768).

12ft 2½in (374·15cm) × 3ft 3½in (100·4cm).
Repeat 3ft (91·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 warm and 2 cool violets, blue, yellow and black. Outlines red and black. Overpainting for green and orange.

The border design is a scrolling rococo ornament supporting bouquets and sprays of flowers and a narrow border around the hem consisting of a floral meander. Two rows of flower vases repeat around the upper part of the skirt.

The floral meander in the narrow border at the hem is reminiscent of the borders of eighteenth-century girdles (*patkas*) made in Western India. Another version of this design in shades of violet and drawn in reverse is reproduced by H. Clouzot, 'Les toiles peintes de l'Inde au Pavillon de Marsan', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. 8, 1912, p. 287.

122
Plate 109
Gown (*wentke*): painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS18–1950 (neg. L1856). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 1ft 8⅝in (52·5cm) × 1ft 6½in (47cm).

Colours: black only.

The design is a large decorated palmette flanked by elaborate foliage scrolls. Flowers fill the intervening spaces. Both flowers and leaves are patterned with floral meanders and zigzag motifs. This *wentke* has the traditional Hindelopen cut, and the seams are accented by a line of backstitching in black floss silk. It is lined with white linen. The neck, fronts and wrists are edged with black-and-white weft-patterned tape.

The significance of *wentke* is explained at page 34, footnote 27. The design in this case seems to have been adapted from a French silk pattern of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The woven braid used as a binding cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which suggests that the garment in its present form has been made from older material which may have been a palampore or yardage. It is possible to point to at least one seventeenth-century parallel for details of the cut (see comment on no. 143). Garments of this kind were probably intended as mourning wear.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L2705.27, cat. no. 337.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 19.

123
Plate 110
Facing of a hat brim and lining fragments: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the Dutch market (Friesland). Coromandel Coast. 18th century, first quarter.

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Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.53 a, b, and c (neg. no. 67TEX183). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Martin Collection.

2ft $\frac{3}{4}$in (63cm) × 3ft $\frac{3}{4}$in (93cm).
Repeat 1ft 2$\frac{1}{8}$in (35·7cm) × 9$\frac{3}{4}$in (24·4cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded and grey). Outlines grey and red. Overpainting for green and black.

A pattern having wavy band decorated with small flower sprays. Large bulging leaf-forms protrude at either side at intervals. A patch has been sewn to the centre of the front edge of the crown opening.

The design may have been taken from a drawing by Daniel Marot (1665–1720). It is bold and simple compared with nos. 124 to 126, plates 111 and 112 and fig.56. A closely related example, designed by him before 1712, is illustrated in Vilhelm Slomann, *Bizarre Designs in Silks*, p.13, fig.10. The large size of this brim indicates that it is from a late eighteenth-century hat. There is an early eighteenth-century hat with a smaller brim faced with the same chintz but with a different colour arrangement (acc. no. 7136, dia.47cm, width 58cm) and also a cushion cover (acc. no. 8051) in the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden. Three other small scraps are preserved in the Josephine Howell Scrap Book of Indiennes, p.25.

124

Fragment of Yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 1720s or '30s.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 961.45.2 a (neg. no. 61AA322). Given by Mrs Cora Ginsburg.

2ft 10$\frac{1}{4}$in (87cm) × 10$\frac{5}{8}$in (27·5cm). Repeat 2ft 3$\frac{1}{2}$in (70cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, light blue, yellow (faded), and grey. Outlines grey and red. Overpainting for green and black. Glazed.

An elaborate design of symmetrically arranged stylised flowers and leaves framed and linked by curving bands resembling lace. (See figs. 25 and 56.)

The design is inspired by those in silks of the period.[27] A full width of this chintz is in the Costume Museum, the Hague.

125
Plate 111

Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 1725–30.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS103–1950 (neg. no. X1532 and FG874). Given by G. P. Baker.

1ft 6$\frac{7}{8}$in (48cm) × 1ft 8in (51cm). Repeat 1ft 7in (48·3cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green.

A design with a symmetrical arrangement of decorated palmettes on a red ground framed by white-ground

Fig. 56. Yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Repeat 69cm × 52·5cm. *Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, acc. no. 1961.19.1*

flowered bands with scalloped edges suggesting lace. There are many filler patterns and much use of parti-colouring for foliage.

The design is derived from French or English silks of the early eighteenth century. Two Garthwaite designs in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum are relevant (acc. nos. 5972.3, dated 1731, and 5975.7, dated 1731–32).[28] It is technically related to figs. 25 and 56 and plate 112. This fragment is now shorter than when published by Baker.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 29 b.

126
Plate 112

Yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast. 1720–40.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.54 (neg. no. 67TEX180). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

11 $\frac{13}{16}$in (30cm) × 2ft 3$\frac{1}{2}$in (70cm).
Repeat 1ft 5$\frac{3}{4}$in (45cm) × 1ft 6$\frac{1}{8}$in (46cm).

[27] See Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks*, London and New York, 1965, plate 61 C dated 1736.
[28] See also Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks*, plate 57 B.

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Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and grey. Outlines grey. Overpainting for green, red-violet, and black.

A design made up of two symmetrical motifs, each composed of scrolling abstract forms surmounted by stylised flowers and foliage and all decorated with filler patterns. There are many fine blue lines where wax has cracked.

The design is inspired by silks of the period, but its comparatively small scale suggests the intermediary influence of Dutch woodblock printing. A fragment of this chintz is preserved in the Josephine Howell Scrap Book of Indiennes, and another in the Fries Museum (acc. no. 1130Y), with slight variations and the yellow unfaded, forms the facing of a Friesian woman's hat-brim.

127
Plate 113
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.19 (neg. no. ROMA2099). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

11ft 1in (337·8cm) × 7ft 4½in (224·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 6¾in (48cm) × 1ft 4 9/16in (42cm).

Colours: 2 reds, medium blue, violet, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of two highly stylised flowers and a mass of small flower sprays and foliage on slender meandering stems drawn to fit the field of the palampore. There are three complete horizontal repeats and part of a fourth at the left side, having only one stylised flower. The border is a modification of the field pattern. The guard borders have a leaf meander pattern in resist on a red ground. There is a blue band at the edges and four short pairs of brocaded shots of red cotton at the lower right corner.

The flower and the meander are stylistically close to those found in contemporary European silks and laces. The naturalistic secondary sprays, on the other hand, are more characteristically Indian. This suggests that the Indian craftsman drew the main outlines from a small muster, and that he added his own filler patterns on enlargement. The guard borders are the same as those at plate 81, and similar to those at plates 60a and 114. This palampore has been used as a curtain, with the result that it has faded and rotted at the folds. A large tuck across the bottom just above the border antedates its use as a curtain and shows less fading.

128
Plate 114
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS2–1881 (neg. no. 71306).

10ft 11in (332·6cm) × 7ft 8¼in (234·3cm).
Repeat 2ft 2⅜in (67cm) × 1ft 5⅛in (43·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of foliate palmettes, elaborated with looping scrollwork, flowers, and foliage. The border is a modification of the design and the guard borders have a repeated floret and leaf meander pattern in white on a red ground. Along all four edges there is a light blue band.

The style resembles European silks of the first part of the eighteenth century, particularly Genoese polychrome velvets, and is also reminiscent of Italian seventeenth-century embroideries with similar symmetrical designs. The layout, with little concern for fitting within the dimensions of the central field, emphasises the impression of yardage with a border overlaid. The guard borders, with their resist pattern on a red ground, are similar to those at plates 60a and 113.

129
Plate 115
Hanging: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 342–1898 (neg. no. Z971).

7ft 2in (218·3cm) × 4ft 10¼in (148cm).
Repeat 2ft 3¼in (69cm) × 9in (22·8cm).

Colours: 3 (?) reds, violet, blue, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green (?) and red-violet.

A design composed of narrow widely spaced red stripes with sprays of fanciful flowers and foliage between and overlaying them. There is a narrow border across the bottom, and pieces of the same border are sewn to the sides. At the outer edge of all three borders there is a blue band. The panel is composed of several pieces. Down each side of the top half, near the border, is a join made before painting.

The design belongs to the group of chintzes and palampores with designs in the 'bizarre' style. It is perhaps most closely related to plates 82 and 117, having similar foliage and filler patterns.

130
Plate 116a
Yoke: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS9–1950 (neg. no. R1006). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 1ft 2in (35·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red-violet.

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A design of large sweeping decorated C scrolls, fanciful flowers and foliage, and many small naturalistic sprays decorated with varied floral and diaper in-fills. The yoke is the same back and front and was made to slip over the head. At the corners of one side are two brass rings, and at the corresponding corners on the other side are two long tapes. These were intended to loop through the rings and hold the yoke in place. Small pieces are set in at each shoulder.

The chintz design is a type found in much Friesland costume, particularly hat brims and jackets, and was inspired by 'bizarre' designs in silks. This one has features which relate it to one for a silk by James Leman and dated 1708.[29]

131
Plate 116b
Slipcover for the headboard of a bed: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. Early 18th century (1705–15).

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.38 (neg. no. ROMA2549 and 67TEX191). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

3ft 5in (104cm) × 4ft 9½in (146cm).
Repeat 2ft 1⅝in (65cm) × 11⅜in (29cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines grey with black accents and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

An asymmetrical design of flowers, foliage and abstract elements laid out in a straight repeat. Across the bottom of the centre section (116cm) is a narrow yellow-ground border, with a repeated floret and leaf motif, marking the start or finish of the piece from which the slip-cover was made. The top and side edges are bound with pale blue silk ribbon and the whole is backed with coarse linen. A narrow strip made up of scraps from this and other chintzes is sewn along the upper edges to allow for the thickness of the head board, and to this is sewn a back flap of linen. The rusty nail holes along the edge of the flap reveal the method used to hold it in place.

The pattern is derived from an early eighteenth-century European 'bizarre' silk design. A comparable example is that on a gown of about 1714 in the Copenhagen National Museum (acc. no. 802/1922). A striking feature revealed in this chintz version of a 'bizarre' design is the complete lack of understanding of the style by the chintz painter. Bewildered, it would seem he has entirely overlooked, and consequently lost in crude and careless draughtsmanship, the rhythmic movement characteristic of 'bizarre' designs. The style of the headboard for which this cover was intended is a contemporary type. A simplified version may be seen among the rocky hillocks at plate 22.

132
Plate 117
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM56–1919 (neg. nos. Z1192 and FD878).

2ft 6½in (77·5cm) × 1ft 5½in (44·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 6in (44·7cm) × 1ft 2¼in (36cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet (?), blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, violet, and orange (?).

A design of flowers, foliage and ornament in the style of European 'bizarre' silks. The intervening spaces are filled with flower sprays extending from the principal motifs. A small piece of the same design, but with differences in filler patterns, has been sewn across the top.

Many of the filler patterns in flowers and foliage resemble those found in English crewelwork embroidery of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (particularly the striped and dotted effects).

133
Part of a Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM51–1919 (neg. no. FD876).

7ft 11½in (244·2cm) × 11½in (29cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of fanciful flowers and foliage on thin curving stems arranged to fit a rectangular unit. There is an almost complete unit of the design in the centre. Across the top is a guard border of repeated flowerhead and trefoil leaf. The bottom and sides have been bound with fancy gallooning in Europe.

The design is related stylistically to plate 117, but is less fantastic.

134
Plate 118
Cape: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast. Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS23–1950 (neg. no. FD868). Given by G.P. Baker.

Length of cape 1ft 8in (50·7cm).
Repeat 1ft 4½in (42cm) × 10½in (26cm).

Colours: 2 reds, blue, and black. Outlines black.

A design of curving stems bearing imaginary flowers and foliage on a blue ground. It is very considerably pieced, and has been made from fragments of a Hindelopen *wentke*. The narrow neckband is of red-ground chintz and hooks at the throat. The cape, lined with linsey woolsey, is traditional winter-wear in Hindelopen, Friesland, and was worn indoors or in bed.

[29] See Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo Silks*, New York 1965, plate 39 B.

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Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L2705–19, cat. no. 351.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 21 a.

135
Plate 119a
Woman's jacket: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 962.107.2 (neg. no. 62AA339).

Length of jacket 1ft 10¾in (58cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of meandering flowering branches and a chinoiserie bird. Some flowers resemble peonies. The cut of the jacket resembles the Hindelopen *wentken*. It has seams accentuated by lines of backstitch worked with red silk floss. The neck, fronts, and wrists are edged with patterned tape. It is lined with heavy linen.

The flowers are more closely related to those in eighteenth century chintzes made for the Indo-Persian rather than the European market. Blue is used quite extensively for flowers, stems and foliage; not all the foliage has been overpainted with yellow. The jacket may have been made from a gown, and is later than the chintz.

136
Plate 119b
Yoke: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS8–1950 (neg. no. R1005). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 1ft 3in (38cm). Length not complete.

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red-violet.

A design of varied flower and fruit sprigs but not complete. It includes flowers resembling tulips, roses, and columbine, and grapes or currants. Instead of rings and tapes, as at plate 116a, there are loops in all four corners.

The scattered miscellaneous flower sprays are similar to those found in contemporary English and Continental silks and embroideries. The yoke is a type found in Dutch regional costume.

137
Plate 120
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.21 (neg. no. ROMA2551 and 62AA223). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

10ft 6in (317·4cm) × 8ft 6in (259cm).
Repeat 1ft 10⅞in (58cm) × 1ft 7¾in (50cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines violet and red. Overpainting for green.

An all-over pattern composed of four mixed flower sprays: two are identical, with flowers resembling tulips and carnations growing from a flowerhead with a large curving leaf. The other two are small sprays radiating from a flowerhead. The border is a slightly compressed version of the design in the field. There is a dark blue band at the edges with a resist-dyed symbol (indecipherable) near the upper left corner. Across the top are two weft stripes each composed of two shots of red cotton.

The design is stylistically similar to plates 121 and 122. It is a type of floral palampore which was much in demand for cutting up into garments; hence few have survived intact. A piece of the same design, but in reverse, is in the Costume Museum at the Hague. Faint traces of wax-cracking along the edges show how the cloth was folded for vat-dyeing (see p. 11). Variations of the same pointed-leaf motif in the inner guard-border can be recognised at plates 75, 86, 121 and 122.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1927. Loan no. L2689.5, cat. no. 34.

138
Plate 121
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS33–1950 (neg. no. H1043). Given by G. P. Baker.

10ft 9¾in (329cm) × 7ft 4½in (224·8cm).
Repeat 2ft 3½in (69·8cm) × 2ft ½in (62cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

An all-over pattern composed of four mixed flower sprays; two are similar, but reversed mirrorwise. The larger flowers are fanciful; others resemble carnations and roses. The border is a repeat of half the design only. There is a blue band along the edge at the top and at the left side. The other two borders are missing.

The design has close resemblances to plate 120, and

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there is a chintz jacket (about 1760) with the same design in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The inner guard border is almost identical to that at plate 122, and similar to those at plates 75, 86 and 120.

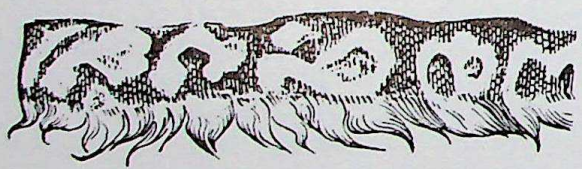
139
Plate 122
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, first half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.20 (neg. no. ROMA2554, 62AA210 and 63AA334). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Arthur Martin Collection.

11ft 4in (345·3cm) × 7ft 2½in (219·6cm).
Repeat 1ft 3¾in (40cm) × 11½in (29cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines grey and red. Overpainting for green and black. Glazed.

The all-over design is a repeat of mixed flower sprays. The repeats are drawn to fit the field. The border is an adaptation of the same flower sprays. There is a light blue band at the edges with resist lettering (Tamil?) at the upper left corner.



The design is stylistically related to plates 120 and 121. The flower sprays are less elaborate and more open than in the other two, and the repeat more obvious. There is also a difference in the drawing which in this panel is coarser than in the other two. The inner guard border is almost the same as that at plate 121 and is similar to those at plates 75, 86 and 120.

140
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Western India. 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM54–1919 (neg. no. FD876).

6ft 6¾in (199cm) × 9½in (24cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

This is made up of four fragments, the one in the centre having rows of fanciful flowers. The ground is filled with small flower sprays extending from the main motifs. To this are stitched three pieces from other flowery chintzes with different patterns.

The centre fragment is stylistically similar to plates 120 and 121.

141
Plate 123
Jacket: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter or earlier. Jacket, about 1790.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS12–1950 (neg. no. FE1611). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 1ft 4in (40·8cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for red-violet.

A design of meandering flower sprays bearing fanciful blossoms, and here and there birds and insects. It is stylistically related to plates 120 and 121. The cut of the garment is later, signifying that it was made from old material.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 22 c.

142
Plate 124
Skirt of a gown (wentke): painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast. Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS16–1950 (neg. no. 1181) Given by the late G. P. Baker.

3ft 2¾in (97cm). Repeat 2ft 1⅜in (64cm) × 1ft 6in (46cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, and black. Outlines grey, violet, black and red.

A design of coiling and meandering stems bearing large flowers resembling tulips, carnations, peonies, chrysanthemums, and auriculas. The skirt is cut in the style of the Hindelopen *wentke* but the seams have been emphasised with a line of red floss silk in running stitch instead of the usual backstitch. The top is roughly turned down and stitched with basting stitches. The front edges are bound with red and white woven tape.

Stylistically the design is reminiscent of those with coiling stems in seventeenth-century silks, Indian chain-stitch embroidery, and English Stuart embroideries. Some flowers have distant resemblances in the Ashburnham chintz (plate 5). The border edges of the palampore from which the skirt was made are visible along the bottom and up the right edge.

143
Plate 125
Gown (wentke): painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Provenance uncertain. Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS109–1950 (neg. no. FE1614). Given by G. P. Baker.

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Repeat 2ft (61cm) × 1ft 10in approx. (56cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for red and blue-violet.

A repeating design with a meandering branch bearing flowers resembling tulips, anemones, peonies, lilies and roses and sprays of small flowers (cf. plate 60). The *wentke* is the traditional cut worn by Hindelopen women. The front, neck and wrists are edged with a red and white patterned tape. Two panels, made of scraps, have been added down the front for extra fullness.

The floral treatment resembles a silk design by James Leman dated 1707.[30] Examination of the various fragments composing the gown shows that it was cut from a palampore, parts of the guard-borders of which are still visible at the hem, neck and sleeves. The disposition of the guard-borders shows that the gown was made out of half a palampore cut vertically.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1927. Loan no. L2705.21, cat. no. 338.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, 1921, plate 20, centre.

144
Plate 126
Petticoat: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS19–1950 (neg. no. Z1184). Given by G. P. Baker.

3ft 4¾in (103·5cm). Repeat 1ft 6½in (47cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and brown. Glazed.

A design of vertically repeating large bouquets and small vases of flowers between luxuriant flowering branches. The design fits within the selvage-to-selvage width of the cotton (96·5cm).

The drawing of flowers and foliage and the use of only a light blue relates this chintz to colour plate 3, from Western India. On the other hand the use of hatching is matched in palampore no. 27, plate 23.

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Loan no. L2705.26, cat. no. 347.

145
Plate 127
Part of a sack gown: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

[30] The cut of a woman's embroidered linen bodice in the Filmer Collection on loan to the Gallery of English Costume, Platt Hall, Manchester, is the same as that of the wentke. Both have a gore set in at the back and at each side.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.49 (neg. no. 67TEX179). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

4ft 6¾in (139cm) × 7ft 8½in (234cm).
Repeat 2ft 8 11/16in (83cm) × 3ft 7¾in (111cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (very faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of slender meandering branches with sprays of flowers resembling roses, tulips, and carnations, and clusters of tenuous dentated leaves spreading out from a central branch. The design has been planned to fit exactly the width of the cotton (112cm) and repeats only vertically. The cloth was originally the back section of a sacque gown. Along the bottom there is a narrow band of diagonal blue stripes on a yellow ground.

The design, with its strong linear quality, might be derived from a copperplate printed cotton. It is similar to English copperplate paper impressions of designs for cottons now in the Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes de Mulhouse. An English woodblock-printed cotton in Colonial Williamsburg (acc. no. 4463) has the same diagonally striped band. The tenuous dentated leaf is found in mid-eighteenth century English ceramics of the period. (A plate in the Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 931.10.1, has a similar cluster.) When the dress was taken apart to use for furnishings, small pieces were sewn to the armholes. In this form it was probably used as a wall covering, because there are rusty nail holes along all four sides.

146
Plate 128
Pair of curtains: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.48 a and b (neg. no. 67TEX389). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

934.4.48 a 7ft 7½in (230cm) × 5ft 10½in (179cm).
934.4.48 b 5ft 8½in (174cm) × 5ft 11¼in (181cm).
Repeat 2ft 2in (66cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of slender meandering branches bearing sparsely arranged clusters of flowers and foliage. It has been planned to fit the width of the cotton (109cm) and repeats only vertically. The curtains are incomplete and considerably pieced. One small patch bears a Tamil seal.

The design is stylistically related to plate 129, and both seem to be derived from a copperplate-printed cotton. Similar designs were worked with chain-stitch embroidery for the European market.

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147
Plate 129
Two-piece dress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). About 1780.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS3–1948 (neg. no. Z1193).

Selvage to selvage, 2ft 10in (86·3cm).
Repeat 1ft 9½in (54·5cm).

Colours: red, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and violet. Overpainting for green; gold leaf applied.

A design of slender meandering stems bearing sprays of small flowers and leaves. The stems were resist-dyed with blue and overpainted with yellow for green, but the yellow has now largely disappeared. Outlines are heavily gilded.

The design is stylistically similar to plate 128. The dress is cut in the style of about 1780 but was later altered to keep it in fashion. The waist of the overdress has been raised and the flounce across the front of the petticoat lowered.

148
Plate 130
Length of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 959.60.1 (neg. no. 60AA172).

2ft 7½in (80cm) × 2ft 11⅞in (91cm).
Repeat 2ft 3 3/16in (69cm) × 1ft 5 5/16in (44cm).

Colours: 2 reds, blue, yellow (almost entirely faded), and black. Outlines black except for leaves which are drawn with resist. Overpainting for green.

The design of a slender meandering branch on a dark blue ground, bearing sprays of flowers resembling tulips, carnations, roses, and columbine, and a diminutive form of the dentated leaf found in flowering-tree palampores. The horizontal repeats intertwine. A narrow piece is sewn to the left side, and across the top there is part of a red border stripe.

The design is related in style to English floral copper-plate-printed cottons brought out by John Munns in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It is particularly close to two paper impressions by him, S.39 and S.45, in the collection of the Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes de Mulhouse.

149
Plate 131
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.44 (neg. no. ROMA2064). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

9ft 10in (303cm) × 4ft 7in (140cm). Repeat (centre) 1ft 10½in (53·7cm) × 1ft 6in (45·7cm). Border 8¾in (22cm).

Colours: 2 reds (3 reds in border), violet, blue (yellow?), and black. Outlines greyish black and red. Glazed.

The central field is filled with a slender serpentine branch bearing flowers resembling roses, chrysanthemums and anemones. The branches are drawn with cut ends to which the flower sprays, on much thinner stems, have been subsequently added. The border of two garlands of leaves and berries which frame small butterflies is from another chintz. The palampore is made up of a selvage to selvage width of cotton (106cm), and is stitched to the border with a fine felled seam. The corners are carefully matched and mitred.

The flowers on the branch meander are stylistically similar to the palampores at plates 38 and 39, and also resemble those in the dress at plate 142. The border derives from European woodblock patterns of the 1780s.

150
Plate 132
Yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 1659–1899 (neg. no. FD870).

2ft 11in (89cm) × 3ft 9in (114·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 9½in (54·8cm) × 1ft 10in (56cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overprinting for green. Glazed.

The design is a repeat of a continuous, slender, meandering branch bearing flowers resembling tulips, lilies, peonies and carnations and sprays of small flowers. One unit of the design and one horizontal repeat fit the width of the cotton. The surface is covered with stitch marks where the cotton has been quilted in a diaper pattern.

The design is stylistically similar to those at plates 103a and 129, and seems to be derived from an English printed cotton.

151
Plate 133
Overdress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (English) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. Circ. 4–1920 (neg. no. Z1190).

Repeat 1ft 5⅛in (43·5cm) × 1ft 5⅛in (43·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design consisting of a continuous branch meander with spiky foliage entwined by a slender vine bearing a few small flowers and berries. Scattered between the branches

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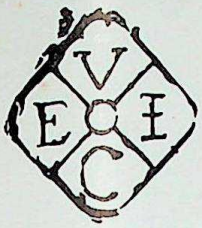
are small flower sprigs. On a back section of the skirt there is a United East India Company stamp.



The drawing of spiky foliage, and the convention of an entwining vine, relate this design to plate 38.

152
Plate 134. Colour plate 6
Overdress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (English) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Mid-18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 967.176.1 (neg. nos. 61AA328 and 67TEX206). Given by Mr and Mrs John Neill Malcolm.

Repeat 1ft 11⅜in (59cm) × 1ft 6in (about 45·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

A design of scrolling rococo ornament from which stem slender curving sprays of flowers and foliage. The design and one repeat fit into a width of the cotton (92·8cm).

The drawing of flowers and foliage is similar to plate 135. The cut of the overdress, which was worn by a member of the Swettenham family, is typical of the 1750s and 1760s.

153
Plate 135
Part of a sack gown and another piece: painted and dyed cottons. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 1740–50.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.51 a and b (neg. no. ROMA1817). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Martin Collection.

934.4.51 a 5ft 1in (155cm) × (greatest) 8ft 4in (255cm).
934.4.51 b 5ft 1in (155cm) × 3ft 6in (106·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 8½in (51cm) × 3ft 5½in (105·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A symmetrical design of a palmette with chains of flowers and foliage stemming from it. The chains link together and frame scattered sprays of flowers resembling roses, peonies and tulips. The design fits the width of the cotton (108cm), and repeats only vertically. Two widths form the back and sides of the sack. The lower part of an armhole shows on one side.

The flowers and foliage are stylistically related to those on the flowering tree at plate 23, and on the petticoats at plates 98a, 98b and 126. The pronounced veining and accents of black, and the use of black outlines, is common to this group. Another fragment is preserved in the Josephine Howell scrap book of Indiennes.

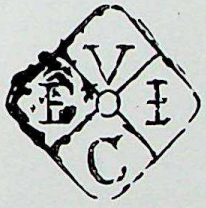
154
Plate 136
Overdress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (English) market. Coromandel Coast. Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM39–1934 (neg. no. Z1539, Z1194 and 71000).

Repeat 1ft 11½in (59·1cm) × 3ft 5in (104cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green, brown and red-violet. Glazed.

A design of floral sprays and tufts of foliage linked together with trails of little mounds and arranged around a small chinoiserie device with a flower vase on either side. The design extends the full width of the fabric and repeats only vertically. There is a United East India Company stamp on the front right panel of the skirt, near the waist.



The drawing of flowers and foliage is stylistically very similar to that on the bedspread at plate 27, and related pieces. There is the same varied treatment of shading, drawn partly with hatching and partly with a woodgrain effect. The device of linking floral sprays with trails of little mounds is similar to the linking leaf-chains at plate 135.

155
Plate 137
Petticoat (underskirt of a dress): painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS22–1950 (neg. no. X1265). Given by the late G. P. Baker.

Repeat 2ft 1¾in (62·7cm) × 1ft 7¾in (50·2cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of curving floral sprays and chains which join in a cluster of scalloped leaves on two stems. There are two units to a width (108cm) and a little extra on each side. The petticoat is composed of four full widths of cotton. Along the upper edge of one width there is a blue line and a band of blue indicating the beginning or end of the chintz.

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147
Plate 129
Two-piece dress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). About 1780.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS3–1948 (neg. no. Z1193).

Selvage to selvage, 2ft 10in (86·3cm).
Repeat 1ft 9½in (54·5cm).

Colours: red, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and violet. Overpainting for green; gold leaf applied.

A design of slender meandering stems bearing sprays of small flowers and leaves. The stems were resist-dyed with blue and overpainted with yellow for green, but the yellow has now largely disappeared. Outlines are heavily gilded.

The design is stylistically similar to plate 128. The dress is cut in the style of about 1780 but was later altered to keep it in fashion. The waist of the overdress has been raised and the flounce across the front of the petticoat lowered.

148
Plate 130
Length of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 959.60.1 (neg. no. 60AA172).

2ft 7½in (80cm) × 2ft 11⅞in (91cm).
Repeat 2ft 3 3/16in (69cm) × 1ft 5 5/16in (44cm).

Colours: 2 reds, blue, yellow (almost entirely faded), and black. Outlines black except for leaves which are drawn with resist. Overpainting for green.

The design of a slender meandering branch on a dark blue ground, bearing sprays of flowers resembling tulips, carnations, roses, and columbine, and a diminutive form of the dentated leaf found in flowering-tree palampores. The horizontal repeats intertwine. A narrow piece is sewn to the left side, and across the top there is part of a red border stripe.

The design is related in style to English floral copper-plate-printed cottons brought out by John Munns in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It is particularly close to two paper impressions by him, S.39 and S.45, in the collection of the Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes de Mulhouse.

149
Plate 131
Palampore: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.44 (neg. no. ROMA2064). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

9ft 10in (303cm) × 4ft 7in (140cm). Repeat (centre) 1ft 10½in (53·7cm) × 1ft 6in (45·7cm). Border 8¾in (22cm).

Colours: 2 reds (3 reds in border), violet, blue (yellow?), and black. Outlines greyish black and red. Glazed.

The central field is filled with a slender serpentine branch bearing flowers resembling roses, chrysanthemums and anemones. The branches are drawn with cut ends to which the flower sprays, on much thinner stems, have been subsequently added. The border of two garlands of leaves and berries which frame small butterflies is from another chintz. The palampore is made up of a selvage to selvage width of cotton (106cm), and is stitched to the border with a fine felled seam. The corners are carefully matched and mitred.

The flowers on the branch meander are stylistically similar to the palampores at plates 38 and 39, and also resemble those in the dress at plate 142. The border derives from European woodblock patterns of the 1780s.

150
Plate 132
Yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 1659–1899 (neg. no. FD870).

2ft 11in (89cm) × 3ft 9in (114·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 9½in (54·8cm) × 1ft 10in (56cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overprinting for green. Glazed.

The design is a repeat of a continuous, slender, meandering branch bearing flowers resembling tulips, lilies, peonies and carnations and sprays of small flowers. One unit of the design and one horizontal repeat fit the width of the cotton. The surface is covered with stitch marks where the cotton has been quilted in a diaper pattern.

The design is stylistically similar to those at plates 103a and 129, and seems to be derived from an English printed cotton.

151
Plate 133
Overdress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (English) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. Circ. 4–1920 (neg. no. Z1190).

Repeat 1ft 5⅛in (43·5cm) × 1ft 5⅛in (43·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design consisting of a continuous branch meander with spiky foliage entwined by a slender vine bearing a few small flowers and berries. Scattered between the branches

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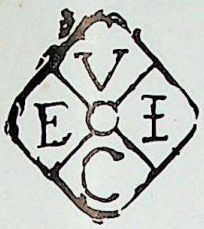
are small flower sprigs. On a back section of the skirt there is a United East India Company stamp.



The drawing of spiky foliage, and the convention of an entwining vine, relate this design to plate 38.

152
Plate 134. Colour plate 6
Overdress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (English) market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). Mid-18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 967.176.1 (neg. nos. 61AA328 and 67TEX206). Given by Mr and Mrs John Neill Malcolm.

Repeat 1ft 11⅜in (59cm) × 1ft 6in (about 45·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

A design of scrolling rococo ornament from which stem slender curving sprays of flowers and foliage. The design and one repeat fit into a width of the cotton (92·8cm).

The drawing of flowers and foliage is similar to plate 135. The cut of the overdress, which was worn by a member of the Swettenham family, is typical of the 1750s and 1760s.

153
Plate 135
Part of a sack gown and another piece: painted and dyed cottons. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 1740–50.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.51 a and b (neg. no. ROMA1817). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Martin Collection.

934.4.51 a 5ft 1in (155cm) × (greatest) 8ft 4in (255cm).
934.4.51 b 5ft 1in (155cm) × 3ft 6in (106·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 8½in (51cm) × 3ft 5½in (105·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A symmetrical design of a palmette with chains of flowers and foliage stemming from it. The chains link together and frame scattered sprays of flowers resembling roses, peonies and tulips. The design fits the width of the cotton (108cm), and repeats only vertically. Two widths form the back and sides of the sack. The lower part of an armhole shows on one side.

The flowers and foliage are stylistically related to those on the flowering tree at plate 23, and on the petticoats at plates 98a, 98b and 126. The pronounced veining and accents of black, and the use of black outlines, is common to this group. Another fragment is preserved in the Josephine Howell scrap book of Indiennes.

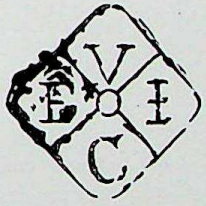
154
Plate 136
Overdress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (English) market. Coromandel Coast. Mid-18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM39–1934 (neg. no. Z1539, Z1194 and 71000).

Repeat 1ft 11½in (59·1cm) × 3ft 5in (104cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green, brown and red-violet. Glazed.

A design of floral sprays and tufts of foliage linked together with trails of little mounds and arranged around a small chinoiserie device with a flower vase on either side. The design extends the full width of the fabric and repeats only vertically. There is a United East India Company stamp on the front right panel of the skirt, near the waist.



The drawing of flowers and foliage is stylistically very similar to that on the bedspread at plate 27, and related pieces. There is the same varied treatment of shading, drawn partly with hatching and partly with a woodgrain effect. The device of linking floral sprays with trails of little mounds is similar to the linking leaf-chains at plate 135.

155
Plate 137
Petticoat (underskirt of a dress): painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS22–1950 (neg. no. X1265). Given by the late G. P. Baker.

Repeat 2ft 1¾in (62·7cm) × 1ft 7¾in (50·2cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of curving floral sprays and chains which join in a cluster of scalloped leaves on two stems. There are two units to a width (108cm) and a little extra on each side. The petticoat is composed of four full widths of cotton. Along the upper edge of one width there is a blue line and a band of blue indicating the beginning or end of the chintz.

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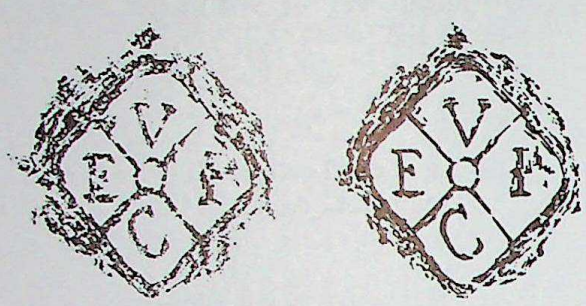
Another of the widths has a United East India Company stamp.



The crisp and rather angular drawing of flowers and foliage and the strong black outlines relate this piece to the palampore at colour plate 5, and others like it.

156
Plate 138
Part of a curtain: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.50 (neg. no. 67TEX185). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

6ft 10¾in (210cm) × 3ft 10⅛in (117cm).
Repeat 1ft 6¼in (46cm) × 1ft 9⅝in (55cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of two slender flowering branches with clumps of bamboo at intervals between them. The horizontal repeat does not fit within the boundary of the selvages but breaks at the edges. The curtain is considerably pieced and a border of nineteenth century European printed cotton is stitched to three sides. The clumps of bamboo are stylistically similar to those at plate 136.

157
Plate 139
Length of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.46
(neg. no. 67TEX181). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

4ft 1¾in (124cm) × 2ft 6in (76cm).
Repeat 1ft 10½in (56·5cm) × 1ft 10in (55·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange. Glazed.

A design of repeating trails of foliage with flowers resembling tulips, carnations and peonies. There is a selvage at the left side only.

The design is similar to French and English printed cottons of the period and could be an adaptation from either a woodblock- or copperplate-printed cotton. It was intended to match at the selvage edges, but it does not fit within the width of the cotton.

158
Fragment of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.58
(neg. no. ROMA2064). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

13⅜in (34cm) × 18½in (47cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of slender meandering stems bearing clusters of flowers and, beside them, diagonally moving rococo foliage garlands. Outlines are embroidered in chainstitch with silver *filé*. There is a selvage at the right side. The design is similar to that on the petticoat at plate 103a, but the embroidery in this case renders the effect less tenuous.

159
Plate 140b
Fragment of painted and dyed cotton. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, third quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.47 a and b
(neg. no. ROMA2081). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne

934.4.47 a (greatest) 3ft ¼in (92cm) × 1ft 11¼in (59cm).
934.4.47 b (greatest) 2ft 6in (76cm) × 10in (25cm).
Repeat 1ft 11¼in (59cm) × 1ft 7½in (49·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow (faded), and grey. Outlines grey and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of trails of flowers resembling roses, peonies and carnations linked together with double chains of small flowers. It was intended to match at the selvage edges. There is a selvage at the right side only.

The design is apparently taken from a European woodblock-printed cotton of the period and illustrates well the Western matching conventions copied by the Indian draftsman. The drawing is stylistically similar to the dress at plate 142.

160
Plate 141
Cape: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the Dutch market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS104–1950
(neg. no. Z1186). Given by G. P. Baker.

Length of cape 1ft 10in (55·9cm). Repeat 1ft 1in (33cm) × 8¼in (21cm).

Colours: blue and black. Outlines black.

The design is a half drop repeat of flowering and fruiting branches meandering from a cluster of flowerheads and foliage. The cape, made from the skirt of a Hindelopen gown or *wentke* (see no. 122) has a narrow neckband with a hook at the throat.

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The flower sprays resemble those in some European blockprinted cottons of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The cape is part of women's traditional winter costume of Hindelopen, Friesland, and was worn indoors or in bed.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Loan no. L2705, cat. no. 350.

Bibliography: G.P.Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 21 b.

161
Plate 142
Two-piece dress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). About 1770.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 959.80 a and b (neg. nos. 93W59 and 61AA329). The Holt Renfrew and Company Limited Fund.

Selvage to selvage 3ft 1⅞in (96cm).
Repeat 1ft 9¼in (54cm) square.

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

The design of the overdress is composed of two groups of branches bearing flowers resembling roses, peonies and chrysanthemums. The groups alternate in a vertical repeat. Horizontally there is one complete unit, and a modified repeat to allow the design to fit the width of the cotton. The pattern on the underskirt is the same as that on the overdress but reversed. At the back of the skirt, at the end of one length, there is a horizontal green stripe indicating the beginning or end of the cloth when painted. The overdress is lined with yellow and violet striped taffeta, the sleeve frills with ivory silk tabby, and the underskirt with heavy linen tabby. The flounces, frills and ruchings are edged with a fancy braid.

The drawing of flowers and foliage is like that at colour plate 5, but coarser. The dress is carefully made, both inside and out, in comparison with many of this period. The rustling of the silk lining, which is an unusual feature, no doubt enriched the effect of brilliant colour and glistening glaze when worn.

Bibliography: K.B.Brett, 'Recent Additions to the Chintz Collection', *Annual Art and Archaeology Division, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto*, 1960, pp.54–9.

162
Plate 143
Facing of hat brim: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T3–1926 (neg. no. X1780).

1ft 9¼in (54cm) × 2ft 5½in (75cm).
Repeat 1ft 1½in (34·5cm) × 1ft 6½in (47cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

The design, on a red ground, is a double branch meander, with clumps of spiky foliage and flowers which distantly resemble roses, carnations and tulips. The branches are entwined by a slender vine with tendrils. Flowers are scattered between the branches.

The chintz design is related to similar ones found in European block-printed cottons of the period. The hat is the traditional one worn by Frisian women and is perhaps later than the chintz. Those of the late eighteenth century had much broader brims than those of the first half.

163
Plate 150a
Fragment of yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, third quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IM55–1919 (neg. no. FD877).

2ft 5½in (75cm) × 1ft 9¼in (54cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of two vertical confronting serpentine garlands of pinks alternating with bouquets of flowers resembling roses and pinks. From each bouquet extend trails of small flowers. Across the bottom another piece of the same design is sewn upside down.

The drawing of flowers and foliage is stylistically similar to the chair seat cover at plate 93.

164
Plate 145a
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS164–1950 (neg. no. R1008). Given by G.P.Baker.

2ft 2in (69cm) × 1ft 10in (59cm).
Repeat 1ft 7½in (46·5cm) × 1ft 8in (51cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red-violet.

A design of two floral chains crossing at intervals and enclosing small mixed bouquets of flowers. Faint remains of a dotted yellow scale pattern cover parts of the ground.

The drawing and application of colour suggest that the design is derived from a Chinese source (probably a painted silk made for the European market).

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165
Plate 144
Fragments of dress: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the French market. Provenance uncertain. Late 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 961.7.3 a–h (neg. no. 61AA323).

Repeat 1ft 11¼in (59cm) × 1ft 5½in (44·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 browns (violet?), 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of three radiating vases of flowers, one containing a rose, a honeysuckle, bluebells and small yellow flowers; another holding carnations and anemones, and the third auriculas. Between the vases are poppies, a tulip, and varied foliage. All are drawn with considerable care and, except for some small flowers, are easily recognisable.

A late eighteenth century paper impression of a woodblock-print from the Oberkampf factory (see fig.57) and a printed cotton border in the Royal Ontario Museum (acc. no. 968.158.24) show a border design from which this design may have been adapted. The chintz version is larger and somewhat modified and was perhaps taken from the length of printed cotton which the border was intended to match.

166
Plate 145b
Length of painted, dyed and gilded cotton. Made for the European (Dutch or French) market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 961.25.1 (neg. no. 61AA324).

4ft 7⅞in (142cm) × 3ft 7¼in (109·5cm).
Repeat 1ft 6⅞in (48cm) × 1ft 10¾in (57·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed and gilded.

A lattice-design composed of diagonal, tapering chains of criss-crossing groups of wheatears having, at the intersections, symmetrical clusters of flowers. There is a small fruiting or flowering plant within each interstice formed by the lattice arrangement.

The design is stylistically similar to French woodblock-printed cottons of the period. It seems to have been the intention of the designer that the pattern should match at the selvage edges but this failed because the central flowers in the outermost clusters have been deleted. There is another piece of this design in the Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York (acc. no. 1958–95–1).

167
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (probably French) market. Coromandel Coast, Madras State. 18th century, last quarter.

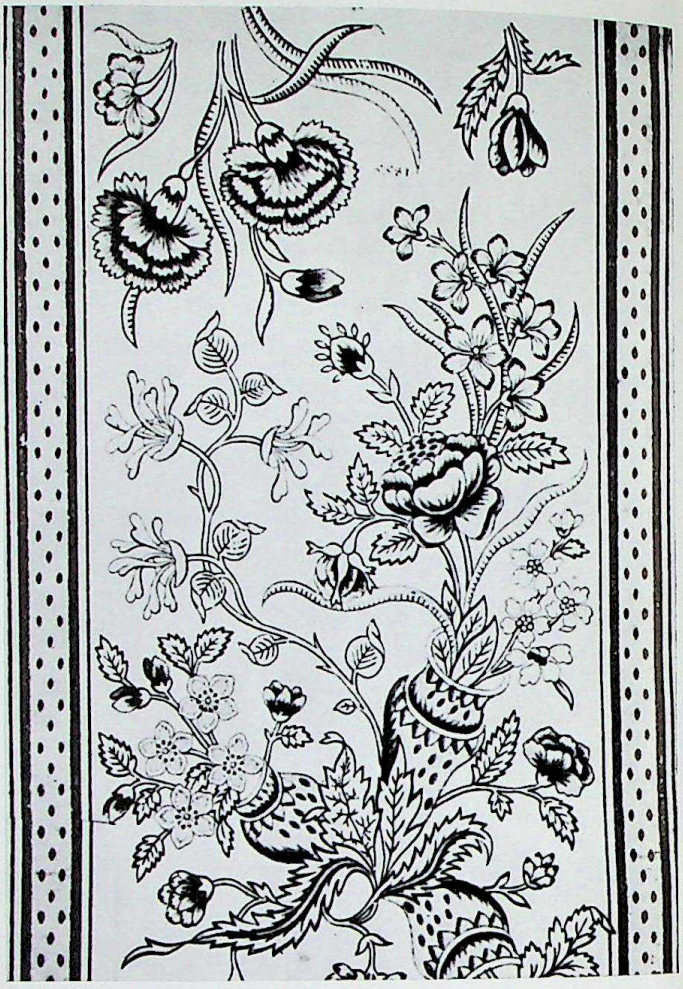

Fig. 57. Paper impression of a design for block-printed cotton. Jouy (Oberkampf factory), late 18th century. Repeat 38·2cm × 22.3cm. *Morton Sundour Collection, Carlisle*

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T348–1919 (neg. no. FD871).

Greatest length 1ft 1⅛in (33·5cm), greatest width 10in (25·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green and orange.

A lattice-design composed of intertwined sheaves of long-stemmed leaves with a cluster of small plants within. The fragment is made up of two matching pieces stitched together. There is a selvage at the left side. The lower part of the right-hand piece has a buttonholed scalloped edge. The design resembles woodblock patterns brought out at the Oberkampf factory in Jouy in the seventeen eighties and seventeen nineties.

168
Plates 146a and b
Apron: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the French market. Provenance uncertain. Late 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.39 (neg. no. 62.22.346). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

3ft (91cm) × 3ft 8¼in (112·5cm).
Repeat 7½in (19cm) × 5¾in (14·5cm).

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Colours: 2 reds, blue (for green only), yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed, gilded and silvered.

A lattice-design of diagonally crossing bands patterned with a leafy stem of leaves and berries on a ground dotted with silver leaf and, at the crossings, a rose. There is a rose sprig outlined with gold leaf in each interstice. The pattern does not match at the selvage edges. The apron is made of a selvage-to-selvage width (112·5cm) pleated to a narrow waistband which extends into ties. It is finished across the bottom with a gathered frill edged, top and bottom, with fancy braid.

The pattern is a copy of a late eighteenth century woodblock print brought out by the Oberkampf factory at Jouy. A paper impression of the design is shown at fig.26. The chintz version of the design is a little larger than the woodblock print.

169
Plate 147a
Upholstery for the head and foot of a bed: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (French) market. Provenance uncertain. 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.61 a–d (neg. no. 60AA174). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Martin Collection.

934.4.61 a 1ft 11⅝in (60cm) × 3ft 4 7/16in (103cm).
934.4.61 b 3ft 3⅜in (100cm) × 2ft 11¾in (91cm).
934.4.61 c 2ft (61cm) × 1ft 10 1/16in (56cm).
934.4.61 d 3ft 4 7/16in (103cm) × 2ft 2in (66cm).
Repeat 10 1/16in (25·5cm) × 8⅞in (22·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (almost entirely faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Glazed.

A lattice-design composed of bunches of faggots entwined with ribbons and rose-sprays and, at the intersections, a small quatrefoil. In each interstice is a small flower sprig, and of these there are eight different kinds. The design does not match at the selvage edges. Only 934.4.61 a shows the complete curve at the top and the full width of the head or foot board. 934.4.61 b–d are incomplete and considerably pieced. A horizontal strip along the bottom of 934.4.61 a has a narrow blue and a black stripe and below them a blue band indicating the beginning or end of the length of chintz. One fragment, of which 934.4.61 b is partly composed, also has a blue band at one end; and above it, at the selvage edge, there are nineteen short red and blue cotton-brocaded stripes. There is no complete width of cotton. 934.4.61 a has a selvage down the left side, and the other three pieces have one down the right side. There are rusty nail holes along some edges of all four pieces.

The design is derived from a French woodblock-printed cotton. Many patterns of this type were made by the Oberkampf factory at Jouy during the last two decades of the eighteenth century (see plate 146a and b, which is also from an Oberkampf pattern). The shapes of the pieces which make up 934.4.51 d show that the material had formerly been made into a dress. Another fragment of this chintz is preserved in the Josephine Howell Scrap Book of Indiennes, p. 20.

170
Plate 148a
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (southern region). 18th century, second half.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. 1761–1891 (neg. no. FD869).

1ft 7¾in (50·2cm) × 2ft ½in (62·3cm).
Repeat 1ft 6½in (47cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, and black (now grey). Outlines black and red.

A design of short decorated bands supported by leaf scrolls with floral sprays and garlands suspended from them. The way in which the various parts are assembled to form a design is similar to that employed in the palampore at plate 91. There is a selvage-to-selvage join down the centre.

171
Plate 148b
Jacket: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Provenance unknown. 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS111–1950 (neg. no. Z1198). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 11in (28cm) × 7⅞in (20cm).

Colours: 2 reds, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A pattern of rose-sprigs arranged in a half-drop repeat on a greenish-yellow ground. Alternate rows are reversed mirrorwise. The pattern is derived from a European printed cotton. The jacket is high-waisted and has long narrow sleeves.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1927. Loan no. 2705–23, cat. no. 334.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 21 c.

172
Fragments of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 961.45.1 a, b and c (neg. no. 62AA221). Given by Mrs Cora Ginsburg.

a: 11in (28cm) × 3in (7·5cm).
b: 2¾in (7cm) × 11¼in (28·5cm).
c: 2⅝in (6·5cm) × 8⅞in (22·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and light violet. Overpainting for green.

A pattern of fanciful flowers on a deep violet ground.

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173

Fragment of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, second half.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.63 a and b (neg. no. 62AA221). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

$7\frac{1}{8}$ (18cm) × $3\frac{3}{4}$in (9·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 blues, yellow and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A pattern of small floral meanders on a blue ground. There is a selvage at the left side.

174

Plate 149a

Fragments of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.64 a, b and c (neg. no. 62AA221). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

a 1ft $1\frac{3}{4}$in (35cm) × $5\frac{3}{4}$in (14·5cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red violet.

A vertical band with at least two alternating flower-sprays interspersed with smaller sprigs and flying insects. To the left there is a narrow border of formal flowers and leaves.

The flower-spray is similar to those published in pattern-books in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, particularly the patterns by Ducerceau. (Compare also Peter Thornton, *Baroque and Rococo silks*, plate 13 A.) The cotton is very fine.

175

Plate 149b

Fragment of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. Early 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.57 (neg. no. ROMA2550). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

1ft $4\frac{3}{4}$in (43·4cm) × $11\frac{3}{8}$in (29cm).
Repeat 1ft $2\frac{1}{4}$in (36cm) × 9in (23cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A design of vertical bands of repeating plant motifs growing from low mounds. Two of the motifs are tree-like and have a large flowerhead, one resembling a tulip and the other a peony. The cotton ground is very fine with a warp and weft count of 112 and 116 threads to the inch respectively.

Small trees with large flowerheads are a feature of early seventeenth century Golconda cotton-paintings (see plate I, for instance). The tree with the tulip-like head recurs at plate 90.

176

Plate 147b

Valance and part of a curtain: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Possibly Western India. 1720–30.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.36 a and b (neg. nos. 66TEX440 and ROMA2081, detail of design). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Martin Collection.

Curtain 934.4.36 a 8ft $10\frac{7}{8}$in (271cm) × 5ft 7in (170cm).
Valance 934.4.36 b 3ft $\frac{5}{8}$in (93cm) × 6ft 4in (193cm).
Repeat $8\frac{1}{2}$in (21cm) × $9\frac{7}{8}$in (25cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow (a little faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A design of widely spaced vertical red stripes decorated with small flower sprigs, and between them two alternating flower sprays (one with butterflies) which repeat vertically. The valance is cut in deep scallops and intended for the side of a bed. It is composed of one selvage-to-selvage width (113cm) of very fine cotton to which, at either side, a narrow piece is stitched. The backing is of faded glazed red cotton. Originally the edge was finished with an applied tape or ribbon sewn in loops and with tassels at each turn. The pattern of both can be followed in traces of stitch marks. There are nail holes across the top indicating the simple way the valance was attached to the valance board. The curtain bears a United East India Company stamp.

The design is similar to striped patterns of the first half of the eighteenth century and the form of the valance is one which would not be later than the second quarter of the century. A fragment of the same design is preserved in the Josephine Howell Scrap Book of Indiennes.

177

Plate 153a

Length of painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European, probably French, market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, last quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.43 (neg. no. 67TEX192). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne. Formerly in the Martin Collection.

6ft $8\frac{3}{4}$in (200cm) × 3ft $4\frac{3}{8}$in (102cm).
Repeat $11\frac{5}{8}$in (29·5cm) × $11\frac{3}{8}$in (29cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

A design with alternating stripes and serpentine bands, the latter associated with bunches of pinks and trailing floral sprays. The main ground-colour is yellow which has been resist-dyed. The stripes are orange.

The design is probably inspired by small brocaded silk designs characteristic of the period. Another piece is preserved in the Josephine Howell Scrap Book of Indiennes, p. 67.

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178
Plate 151a
Jacket: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European (Dutch) market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, last quarter. Jacket 1780–90.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS11–1950 (neg. no. Z1195). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 1ft 4½in (42cm) × 11½in (30cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green, red-violet, and orange. Glazed.

A design of heavy, fluted, wavy rococo columns from which stem sprays of flowers. Originally there must have been at least three columns, about nine inches apart, to one width of cloth.

The rococo column-motif is a recurring feature of French woodblock-prints of the 1780s.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L2705–20. Cat. no. 342.

Bibliography: G. P. Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, plate 22 a.

179
Plate 150b
Man's Morning Gown: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast (northern region). 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T49–1951 (neg. no. Z1189).

Repeat 1ft 10⅜in (57cm) × 1ft 1¾in (35cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, 2 blues, yellow (faded), and black. Outlines black. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

The design has a chain of intertwining branches with three alternating clumps of flowers and foliage at regular intervals. Meandering around the chain are very slender flowering branches.

The chain of intertwining branches is a modified version of the border at plate 71, but much reduced in scale. Two of the clumps of flowers and foliage are reversed and occur in the side borders of the hanging; the third is the corner motif. Compare also the drawing of flowers and foliage at plate 17. The gown is a fitted one and in the style of the 1840s.

180
Plates 151b and 152a
Jacket: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, last quarter. Jacket 1790s.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS17–1950 (neg. no. Z1187, patches, Z1188). Given by G. P. Baker.

Repeat 8¾in (22·2cm) × 1ft 2¼in (36cm).
Patch 11in (28cm) × 5½in (14cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Glazed.

A pattern of interlacing bands, resembling ribbon and strings of beads, with intertwining small flowers, foliage and rose sprays. Between them are bouquets tied with ribbon. The lower parts of the jacket front are patched with a different chintz which has a repeat of zigzag-patterned vertical bands and flower sprays (see plate 152a). A third chintz forms gussets at the sides of the jacket.

The patterns are derived from French sources (either silks or woodblock-printed cottons).

Exhibited: A Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. Loan no. L2705–24, cat. no. 345.

181
Plate 152b
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T307–1919 (neg. no. FD871).

1ft 1in (33·2cm) × 4¾in (12cm). Repeat 11in (28cm).

Colours: 3 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black and red.

A pattern based on vertical stripes and floral bouquets. Influenced by European silk designs.

182
Fragment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast, Madras State. 18th century, last quarter.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T308–1919 (neg. no. FD871).

9in (23cm) × 4⅝in (11·8cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, and black. Outlines black and red.

A chain, knotted at intervals, and intertwining with a flower-and-leaf meander, crosses a group of narrow stripes. The design is derived from or inspired by contemporary silk designs and may be part of cat. no. 181.

183
Yardage: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Late 18th to 19th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T157–1915 (neg. no. 53694).

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3ft 4in (101·5cm) × 3ft 7in (110·5cm).
Repeat 12½in (31·7cm) × 9¼in (23·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green.

A repeating design of floral stripes, crudely drawn and coarsely executed. Based on European silk designs.

184
Plates 153b and 154a and b
Fragments of applied-work Hangings: painted and dyed cotton. Made for the European market. Coromandel Coast. 18th century, first quarter.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc. no. 934.4.40 a, b and c (neg. nos. 67TEX209 and 65TEX213c).
acc. no. 934.4.42 a–d (neg. nos 65TEX213 E and F).

934.4.40 a 6ft (182·8cm) × 1ft 7½in (46·5cm)
934.4.42 a 3ft 9in (114·5cm) × 1ft 2in (35·7cm).
934.4.42 c and d diam. 11in (28cm).

Colours: 3 reds, 2 violets, blue, light brown (faded), and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green. Some pieces have only 2 reds and 1 violet.

Applied-work designs of symmetrical scrolling ornament in the Berain style and made up of several different chintzes. Two have flower meanders, birds, and beasts; one a row of small plants on a white ground; one a small close flower-and-leaf meander on a yellow ground, and another, in the style of 'bizarre' silks, is on a red ground. The chintzes are stitched with red and white 2-ply silk threads, in overcasting, to a white tabby cotton backed with a heavier cotton, and hidden by couched groups of 2-ply red silk threads stitched through to the backing. 934.4.42 c and d are circular (diam. 11in (28cm)) and may have been bolster ends or parts of cushion covers.

The rows of plants on small mounds in 934.4.42 a and b (plate 153b) are a variant of those in plates 78 and 79. The peacocks' tails in the centre sections at plate 154b are stylistically the same as those on peacocks at the base of the flowering tree at plate 22. There is also a similarity between plate 154b and plate 22 in the use of blue in rather hesitant lines for stems and tendrils, due no doubt to technical difficulties. The yellow-ground chintz occurs in every piece. 934.4.40b has a side border with the same guard borders as at plate 60a.

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Armenian church fabrics

These fabrics were commissioned in India by prosperous members of the Armenian community for their own churches and monasteries, many of which were built outside Armenia itself, in areas where they had settled as traders. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Armenians played an important role in Indian commerce. As Asian Christians bridging the cultures of East and West, they were well suited to act as intermediaries between Asian producers and middlemen, on the one hand, and European merchants unfamiliar with Asian ways and customs, on the other. In 1695 the directors of the English East India Company described them as 'the most knowing men in all the inland parts of the East Indies [more] than the Dutch or any other nation on the face of the earth'.[31] The designs of nos 185, 187 and 188 are apparently derived from Armenian illustrated manuscripts, and it may be supposed that they were commissioned for Armenian churches in India or Persia, usually as memorials for deceased relatives. However, Indian cotton-paintings also reached Armenia itself, and their influence can be seen in the many cloth bookbindings surviving from the fourteenth century onwards.[32]

185
Plate 155a
Two altar frontals: painted and dyed cotton. Made for Armenian churches. Possibly from Western India. Early 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. T217–1921 (neg. no. 53143) and IS115–1950 (neg. no. V184). The former was purchased in 1921, and the latter was given by G.P.Baker.

6ft 10½in (210cm) × 3ft 6½in (108cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and orange.

The two altar frontals have a similar design depicting in the centre, within a multifoil niche, Christ or the Eternal Father standing on rocky ground. With his right hand he is giving the benediction, and in his left he holds the orb with cross. On his right is a ciborium. On either side of the main figure is a niche similar to the one in the middle, in the spandrels of which are cherubim. The rest of the field is filled with stylised cypress trees against a floral background. The border is a floral meander and the narrow guard borders are repeated spot motifs on a red ground. There is a blue band round three of the four edges and selvages at top and bottom. Across the bottom runs an Armenian inscription which reads differently in the two hangings:[33]

T217–1921. 'To the memory of Tēr Yorhannēs and his parents Mik'ayēl, my second mother Sisilē, his grandfather Khac'atur and his sons Tēr Stepanos (and) Tēr Yorhannēs.'

IS115–1950. 'To the memory of Tēr Yorhannēs and his parents Mik'ayēl and Gēt'sēman and his grandfather Yorhan and Gah'ar and his sons Karapet (and) Petros.'

There are minor variations in the two designs. For instance, in the piece illustrated at plate 155a there is a group of houses depicted in miniature near the feet of the central figure (presumably symbolising the Heavenly City) which does not appear in the second piece (IS115–1950, reproduced by G.P.Baker (see Bibliography, below). In both hangings the feet of the central figure are reversed, showing big toes on the outside, and on the back of both hangings are stamps of the United East India Company. It is likely that these two altar frontals were specially commissioned by an Armenian employed by the English East India Company and that he had taken the liberty of supplying the cotton-painter with cloth which was the property of the Company. A Western Indian provenance is suggested in view of the fact that the flowers bear some resemblance to those on the contemporary girdles (*patkas*) of Rajasthan. The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses two Armenian-type painted-cotton altar frontals in addition to these (IS116 and 117–1950), but since their designs are unrelated to Indo-European chintz they are not included in this catalogue.

Exhibited: Retrospective Exhibition of Painted and Printed Fabrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927. IS115–1950 Loan no. L2705.30, cat. no. 361.

Bibliography: G.P.Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, London, 1921, vol. I, fig. 18, and vol. II, plate 33.

[31] Quoted from G.P.Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, vol.I, 1921, p.29.
[32] Published anonymously under the title *Armyanskaya naboika*, Gosudarstvennaya Kartinnaya Galereya, Erivan, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1953.
[33] These translations were kindly given by Mr Charles Dowsett, Reader in Armenian at the School of Oriental & African Studies, London University.

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186
Plate 155b
Cope: painted and dyed cotton. Made for use in an Armenian church. Coromandel Coast. Dated 1787.

Royal Ontario Museum, acc, no. 934.4.37
(neg. no. 65TEX16). Given by Mrs Harry Wearne.

4ft 9in (149cm) × 9ft 7in (292cm).
Repeat 5⅛in (13cm) × 5¼in (13·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black and red. Overpainting for green and red violet.

The design fits the semi-circular shape of the cope. In the centre back there is a cross and an inscription which reads: 'In memory of Gregory Ghalandaeian (or Quolandacian or Kalamdaeian) and his parents Agapia and Martha, in the year 1787. September'.[34] The field is filled with a repeating pattern of floral cornucopia and there is a repeating border of angel heads around all sides. The cope is composed of three widths of cotton joined at the selvage edges after painting. The centre one is a complete width, 3ft 4in (102cm). It is lined with printed cotton which has a small spot pattern.

The quality of the cotton and the workmanship are both coarse. A length of fine cotton with a much more carefully drawn version of the cornucopia pattern and outlined with gold is in the collection of Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York (acc. no. 1902.1.974).[35]

187
Plate 157
Hanging or Banner: painted and dyed cotton. Made for use in an Armenian church. Coromandel Coast (northern region). Probably Madras State. 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS3–1953
(neg. no. L683).

4ft 6in (137cm) × 3ft 4¼in (102·5cm).

Colours: 2 reds, violet, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black, some overpainted with red. Overpainting for green.

The scene depicted is the Crucifixion and shows four female figures, one kneeling and three standing, at the foot of the cross. Blood pours from Christ's hands and side and is caught in chalices held by angels. A rayed sun and moon shine forth above the arms of the cross. A formal castellated border runs around all four sides and at the top are five tabs for suspending the hanging. The hanging is patched in several places.

The source of the scene depicted is a Gospel manuscript illustration of Byzantine-Armenian origin.[36] The patterns on the shawls and dresses worn by the women resemble the filler patterns used in Madras flowering-tree palampores of the first half of the eighteenth century.

188
Plate 156
Vestment: painted and dyed cotton. Made for use in an Armenian church. Probably from Madras State. 18th century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. IS2–1953
(neg. no. L682).

4ft 6⅝in (139cm).

Colours: 2 reds, 2 violets, blue, yellow, and black. Outlines black, some overpainted with red. Overpainting for green and blue-black background.

Two scenes from the story of Christ are depicted. Below the opening for the wearer's head is the Descent from the Cross, and across the bottom the Entombment. A flower-and-leaf meander border runs around the edge and a narrow one around the neck. On either side of the front opening are three cherubim. In the lower right corner there is a join in the cotton made before painting. The vestment is reinforced with a cheap grade of printed cotton.

The sources of the scenes depicted are probably Armenian Gospel manuscript illustrations. In the scene of the Descent from the Cross, the two figures at the bottom right each have two left feet, and the figure holding the sheet at Christ's head in the Entombment has two right hands. This misunderstanding also occurs at plates 98a, 99 and 100. It is not known for what ceremony the vestment was worn.

[34] This translation was kindly done for the Royal Ontario Museum by Dr S. Topalion.
[35] Jean Mailey, 'Indian Textiles in the Museum's Collection', *Chronicle of the Museum for the Arts of Decoration of the Cooper Union*, 1953, pp.135–52, fig.7.
[36] See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1947, plates XXVI and XXVII.

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Chintz catalogue concordance

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T87–1923	111	102
IM43–1925	44	43 & col. pl.5
IM44–1925 IM45–1925	45	—
T3–1926	162	143
IM48–1926	54	52
IM160–1929	1	1
IM57–1933	4	3a
IM58–1933	5	3b
IM39–1934	154	136
IM1–1937	22	18
IM2–1937	23	19
IM85–1937	61	59
IS3–1948	147	129
IS8–1950	136	119b
IS9–1950	130	116a
IS11–1950	178	151a
IS12–1950	141	123
IS13–1950	105	98a
IS14–1950	110	101
IS15–1950	117	105
IS16–1950	142	124
IS17–1950	180	151b & 152a
IS18–1950	122	109
IS19–1950	144	126
IS20–1950	118	140a
IS21–1950	116	104
IS22–1950	155	137
IS23–1950	134	118
IS31–1950	93	89
IS32–1950	82	79
IS33–1950	138	121
IS35–1950	94	90
IS36–1950	16	14
IS37–1950	86	83
IS38–1950	41	40
IS40–1950	95	91
IS41–1950	88	85
IS42–1950	108	99
IS43–1950	49	—
IS44–1950	37	39
IS45–1950	52	50
IS46–1950	51	49
IS48–1950	106	98b
IS49–1950	109	100
IS50–1950	28	24
IS51–1950	119	106
IS53–1950	91	87
IS54–1950	120	107
IS75, 76, 77–1950	31	27, 28a & b, 29a & b
IS103–1950	125	111
IS104–1950	160	141
IS107–1950	111	102
IS108–1950	114	103b
IS109–1950	143	125
IS111–1950	171	148b
IS115–1950	185	155a
IS118–1950	72	71
IS119–1950	11	9

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Museum no.	*Catalogue no.*	*Plate no.*
IS120–1950	52	—
IS121–1950	8	6
IS122–1950	6	4b
IS123, 124, 125–1950	64	62a & 63a
IS133–1950	76	74b
IS135–1950	20	64a
IS136–1950	24	20
IS137–1950	87	84
IS138–1950	29	25
IS139–1950	78	—
IS141–1950	92	88
IS142–1950	50	48
IS151–1950	113	—
IS152–1950	49	47
IS164–1950	164	145a
IS166–1950	101	95
T49–1951	179	150b
IS51–1952	59	57
IS2–1953	188	156
IS3–1953	187	157
IS156–1953	7	5 & col. pl.1
IS16–1956	3	4a
IS21–1956	74	73
IS46–1956	80	77
IS205–1959	99	—
IS2–1961	42	41
IS243–1961	103	97
IS122–1965	62	64b
IS182–1965	12	10
IS30–1966	32	30
IS59–1966	121	108
IS2a & b–1967	62	60b, 62b & 64b
IS4–1968	69	69

Royal Ontario Museum

Museum no.	*Catalogue no.*	*Plate no.*
934.4.1	40	—
934.4.2	38	—
934.4.3	36	38
934.4.4	19	17
934.4.5	47	45
934.4.6	30	26
934.4.7	81	78
934.4.8	89	—
934.4.9	83	80
934.4.10	73	72
934.4.11	26	22
934.4.12	33	31
934.4.13	18	16 & col. pl.3
934.4.14	17	15
934.4.15 a to h	63	61 & 65
934.4.16	79	76
934.4.17	27	23
934.4.18a	66	66
934.4.18c	69	68a
934.4.18d	67	67
934.4.18f and g	68	68b
934.4.19	127	113
934.4.20	139	122
934.4.21	137	120
934.4.25	60	58
934.4.29 a to d	115	—
934.4.30 a and b	65	63b
934.4.31	97	—
934.4.33 a and b	96	60a
934.4.34 a to c	70	—
934.4.36 a and b	176	147b
934.4.37	186	155b
934.4.38	131	116b
934.4.39	168	146a & b
934.4.40 a to c 934.4.42 a to d	184	153b & 154a & b
934.4.43	177	153a
934.4.44	149	131
934.4.45	112	103a
934.4.46	157	139
934.4.47 a and b	159	140b
934.4.48 a and b	146	128
934.4.49	145	127
934.4.50	156	138
934.4.51 a and b	153	135
934.4.53 a to c	123	110
934.4.54	126	112
934.4.57	175	149b
934.4.58	158	—
934.4.60 a and b	107	—
934.4.61 a to d	169	147a
934.4.63 a and b	173	—
934.4.64 a to c	174	149a
934.4.816 a and b	71	—
959.60.1	148	130
959.80 a and b	161	142
959.112	102	96
959.249	99	93
961.7.3	165	144
961.7.6	25	21 & col. pl.4
961.25.1	166	145b
961.45.1 a to c	172	—
961.45.2 a	124	—
961.179.1	104	158
962.107.1	77	75
962.107.2	135	119a
963.13	90	86
964.215	13	11
967.176.1	152	134 & col. pl.6
968.158.1	69b	70

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Plates

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Plate 1. Cat. No. 1. Floorspread. Petaboli, Golconda State, c AD 1630

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

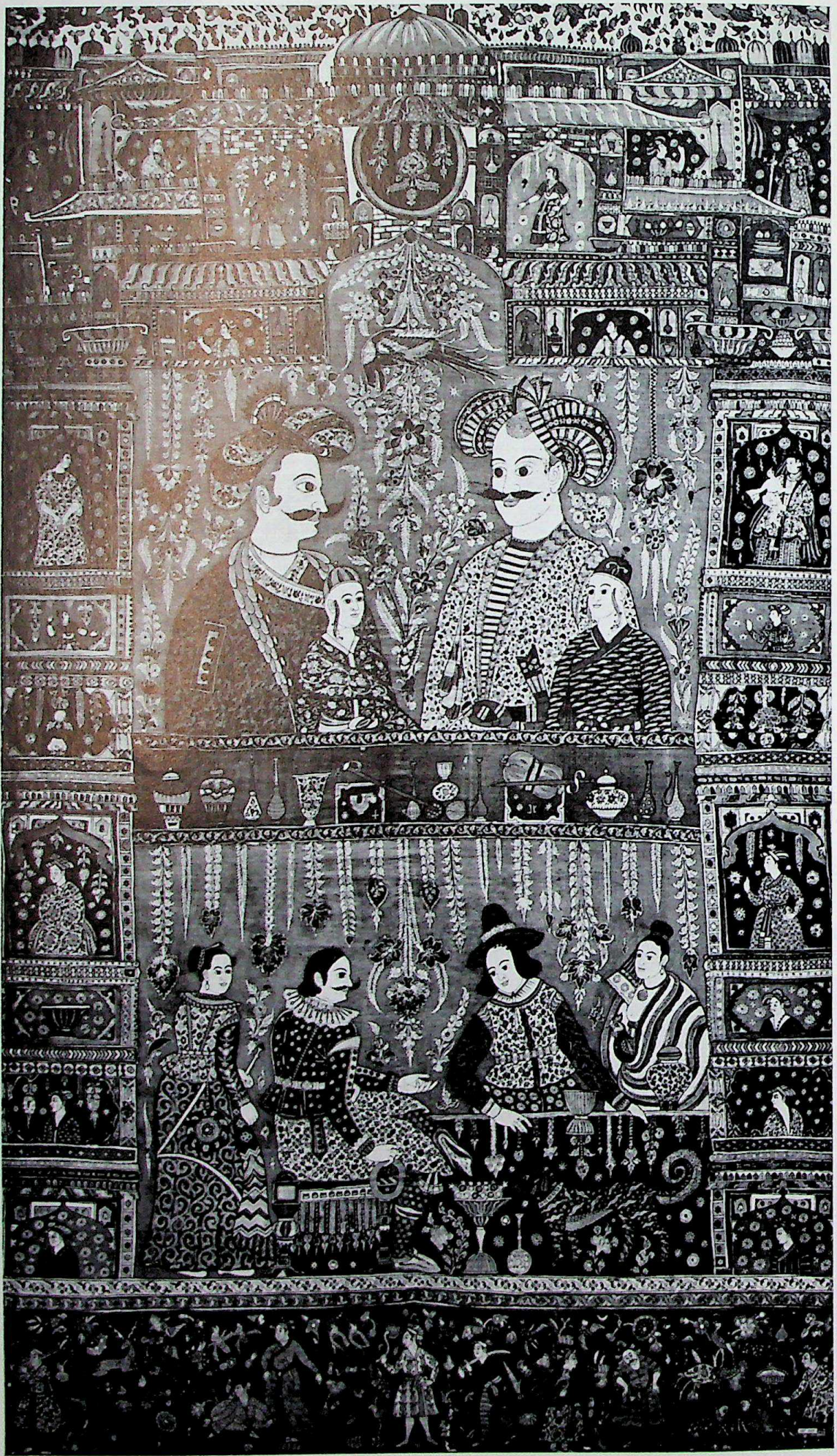
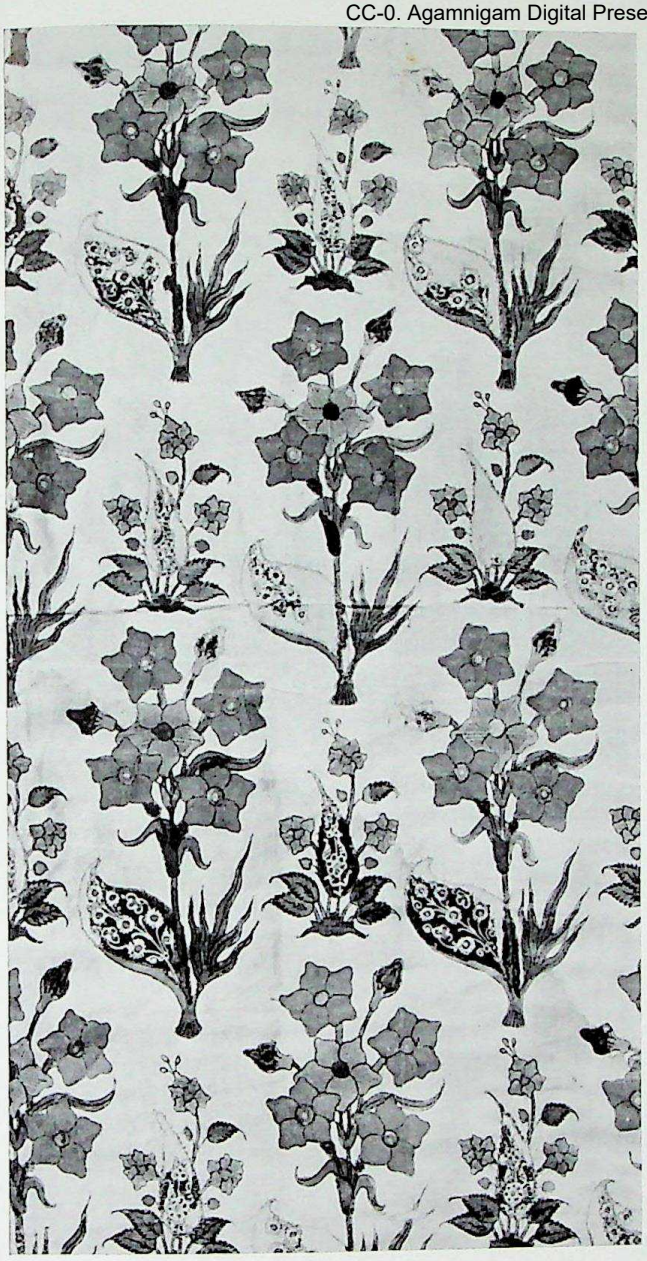
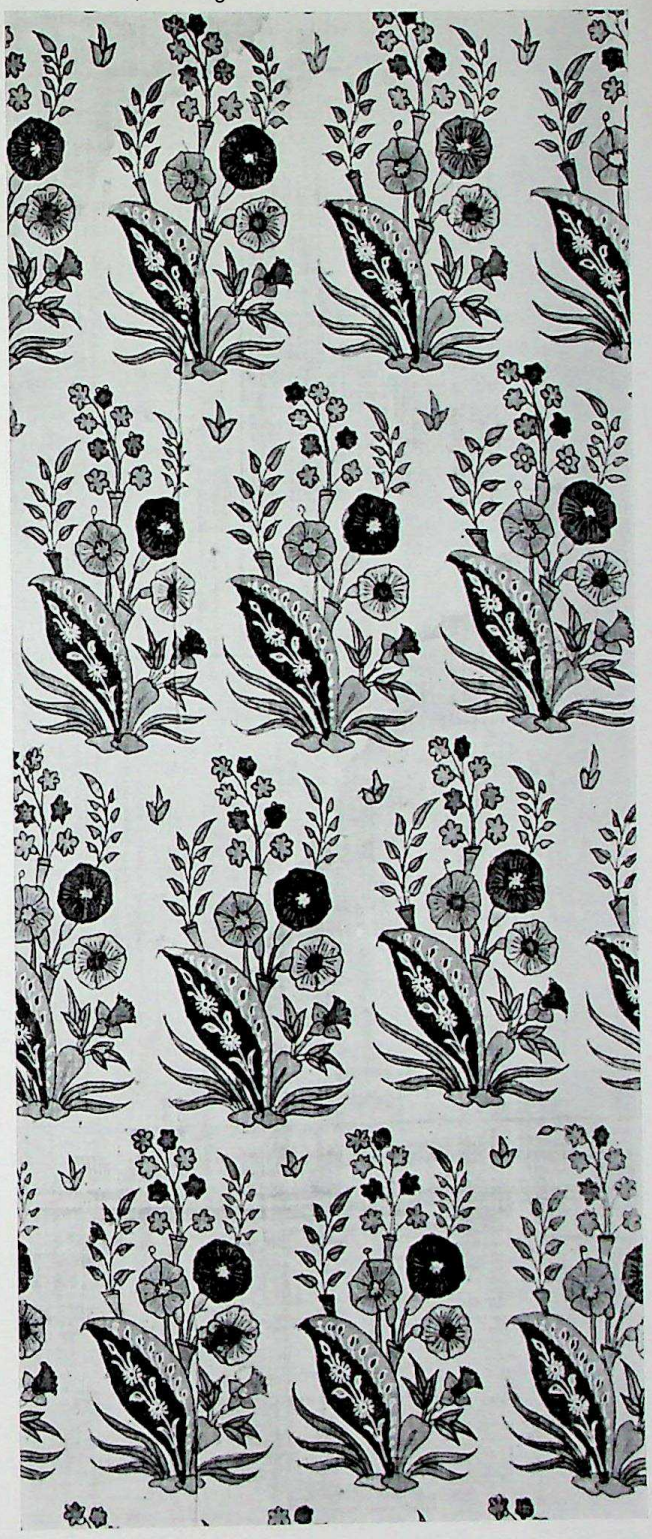


Plate 2

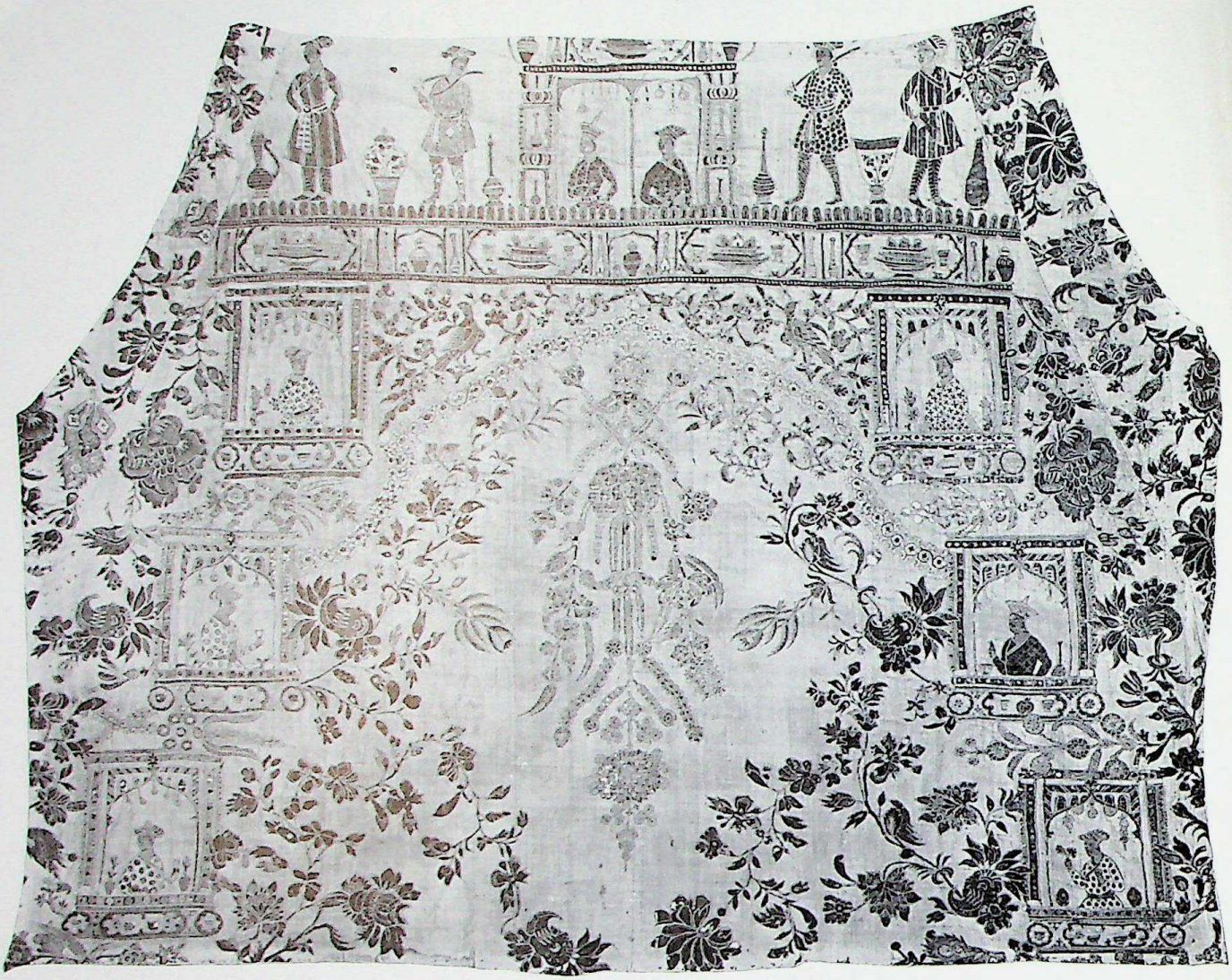
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh





Left: Plate 2. Cat. No. 2. Part of a hanging. Madras-Pulicat region, c AD 1640–50
Above left: Plate 3a. Cat. No. 4. Fragment. Provenance uncertain, probably Golconda State, 17th century
Above right: Plate 3b. Cat. No. 5. Fragment. Madras-Pulicat region, 17th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 4a. Cat. No. 6. Fragment. Madras-Pulicat region, AD 1640–50
Below: Plate 4b. Cat. No. 6. Floorspread. Centre section, Golconda; applied borders, Western India, 17th century
Right: Plate 5. Cat. No. 7. Hanging. Western India, late 17th or early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

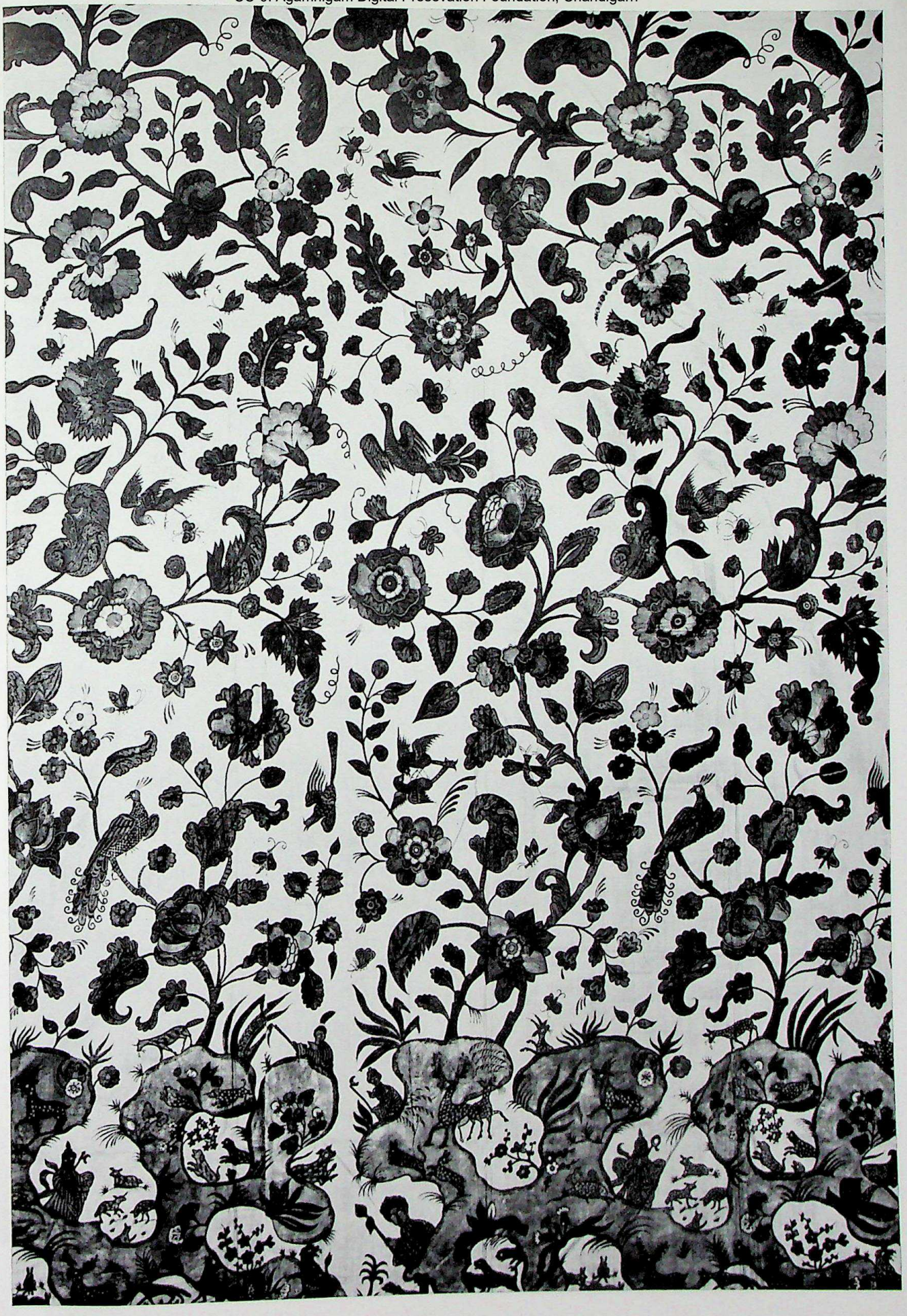


Plate 5

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Plate 6

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Left: Plate 6. Cat. No. 8. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (northern region), late 17th century
Above: Plate 7. Cat. No. 9. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), late 17th or early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Above: Plate 8. Cat. No. 10. Hanging or Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), about 1700
Right: Plate 9. Cat. No. 11. Hanging or Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 18th century

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Plate 9

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Above: Plate 10. Cat. No. 12. Part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), about 1700
Right: Plate 11. Cat. No. 13. Quilt. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half

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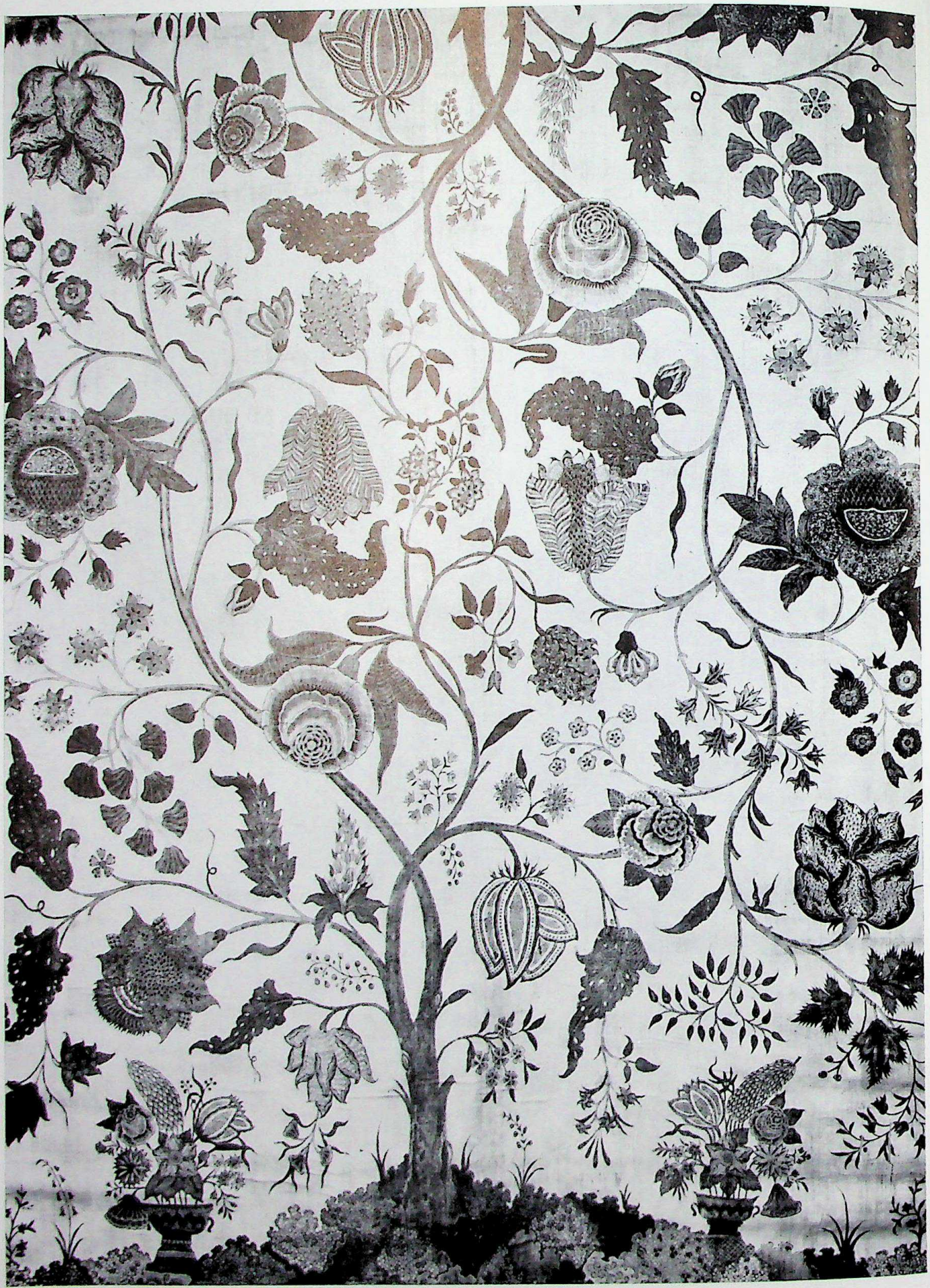
Plate 11

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 12. Cat. No. 14. Part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), first quarter
Right: Plate 13. Cat. No. 15. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

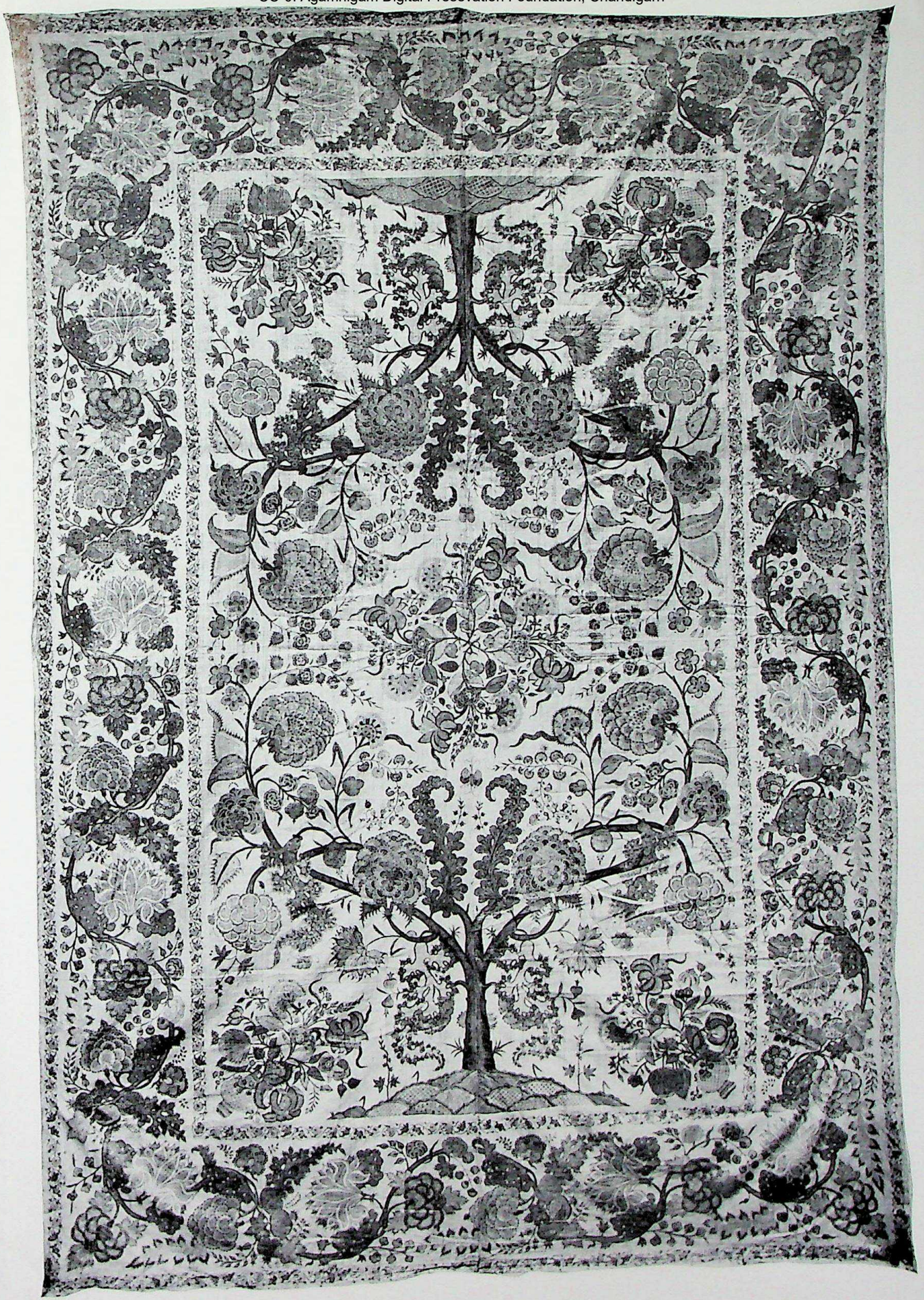


Plate 13

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 14. Cat. No. 16. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Above: Plate 15. Cat. No. 17. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half
Over page: Plate 16. Cat. No. 18. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half
Plate 17. Cat. No. 19. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), dated 1764
Plate 18. Cat. No. 22. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half
Plate 19. Cat. No. 23. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, third quarter

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Plate 17

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

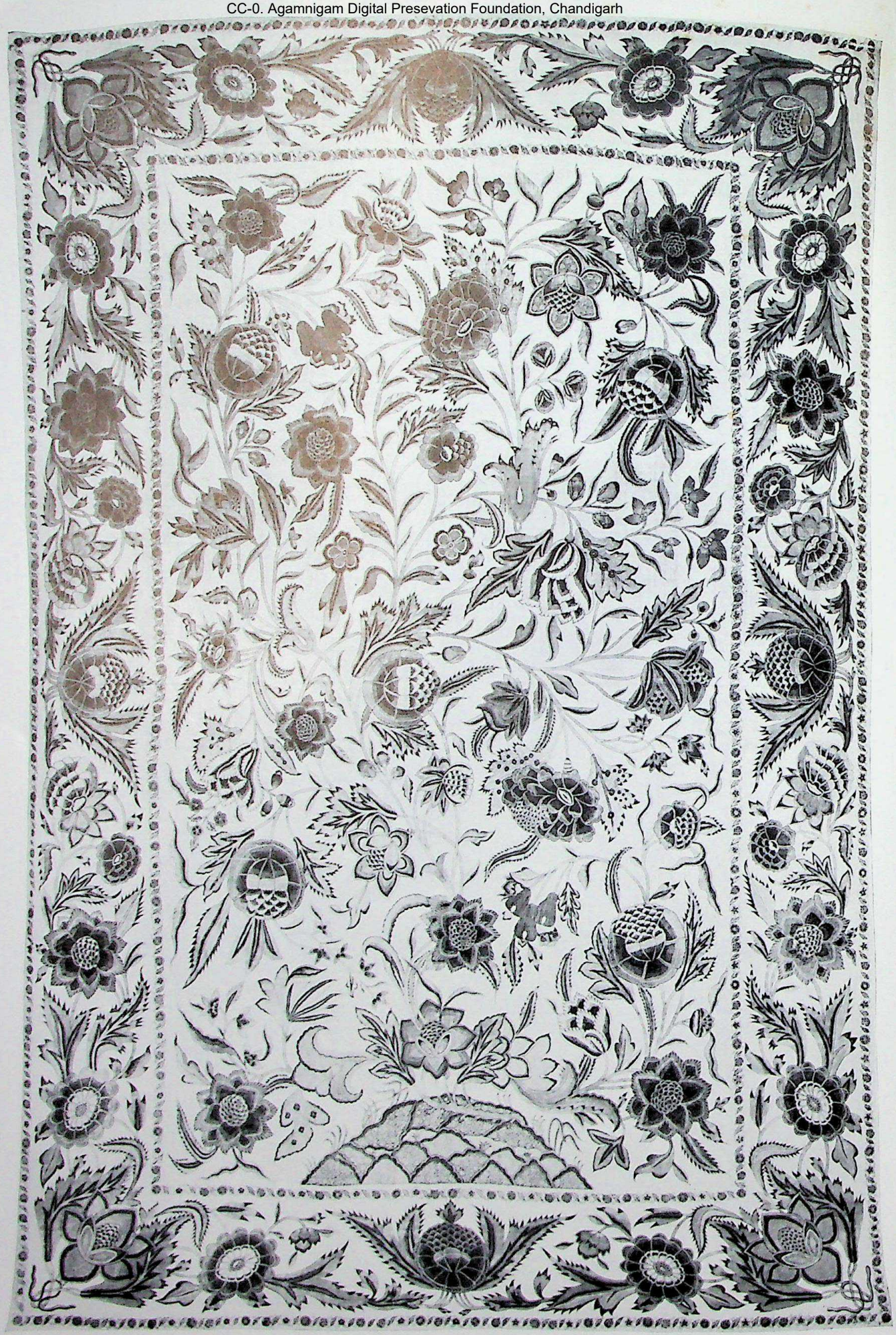

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Plate 19

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 20. Cat. No. 24. Palampore. Possibly Western India, 18th century, second quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

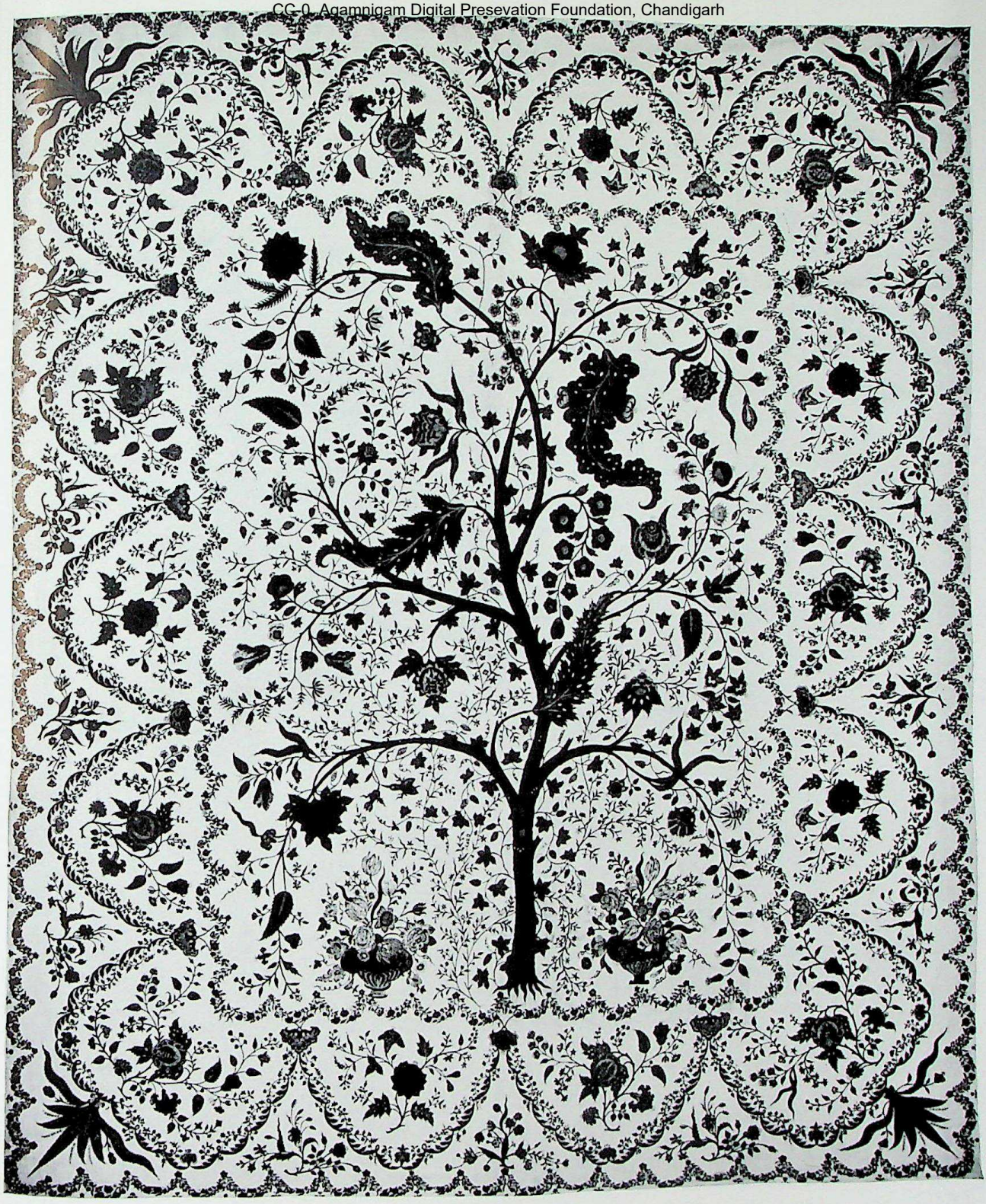

Plate 21. Cat. No. 25. Palampore. Western India, 18th century, second quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

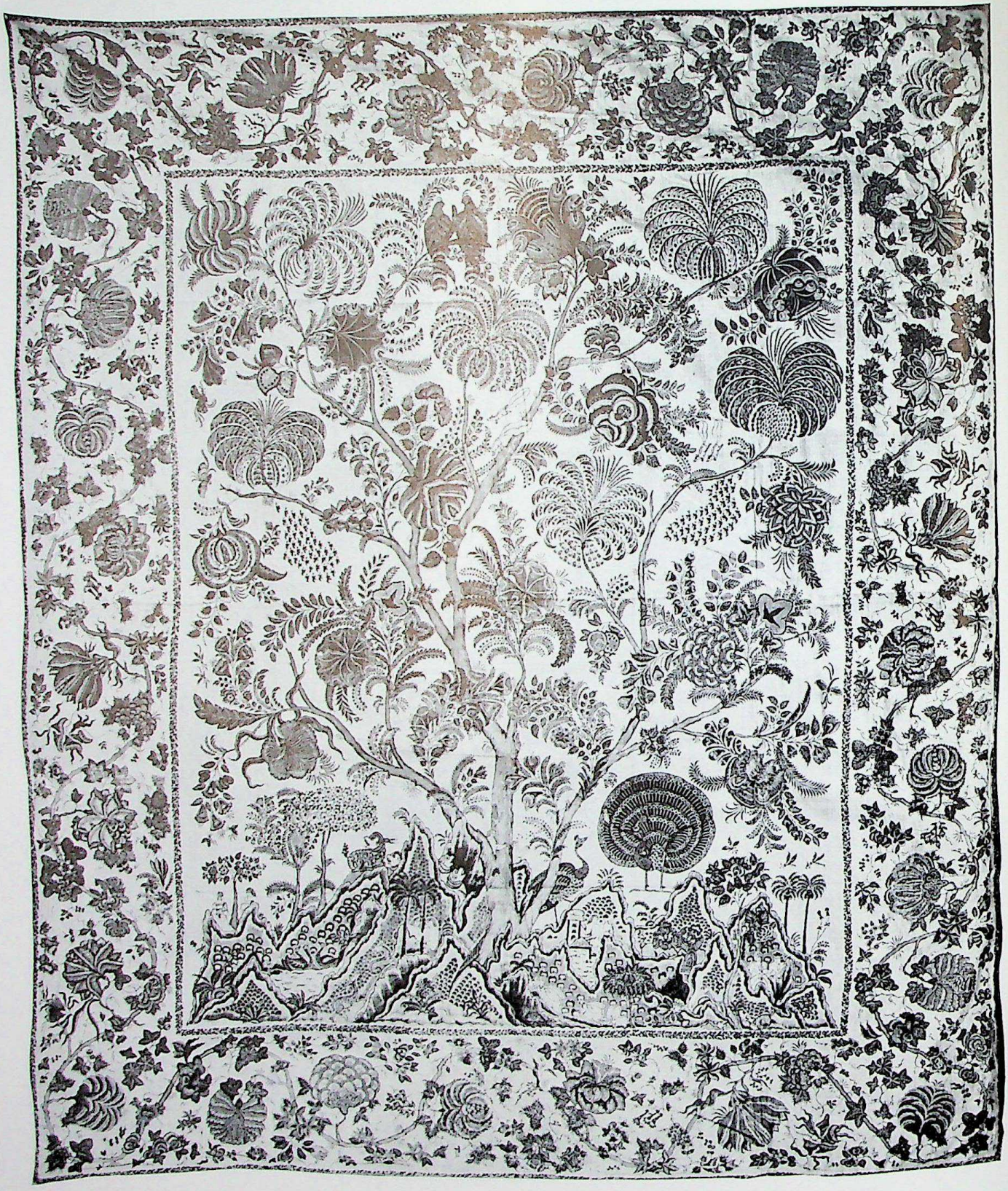

Plate 22. Cat. No. 26. Palampore. Coromandel Coast, probably 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

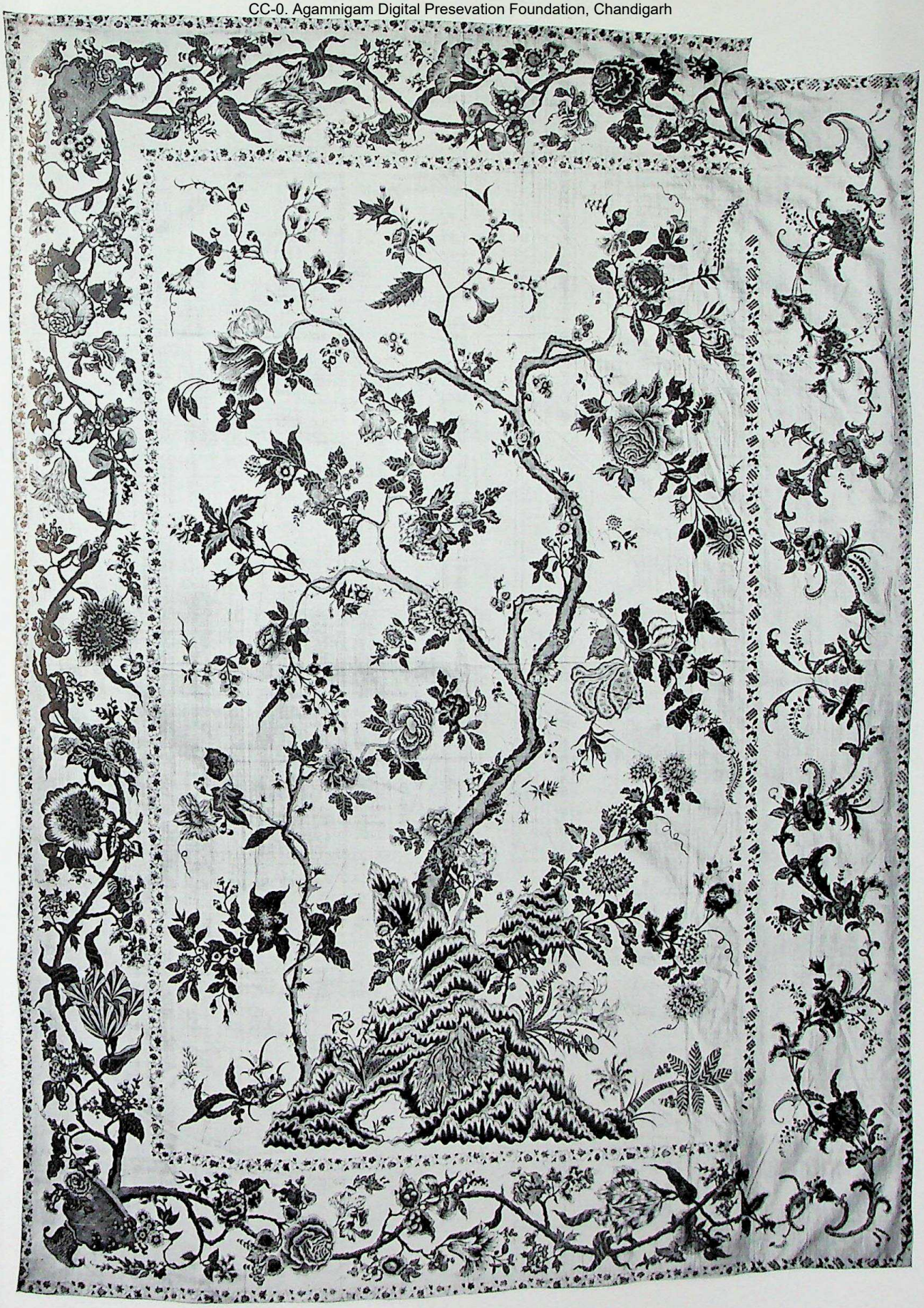

Plate 23. Cat. No. 27. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second quarter

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Above: Plate 24. Cat. No. 28. Part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second quarter
Right: Plate 25. Cat. No. 29. Part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half

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Plate 25

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Plate 26. Cat. No. 30. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first half

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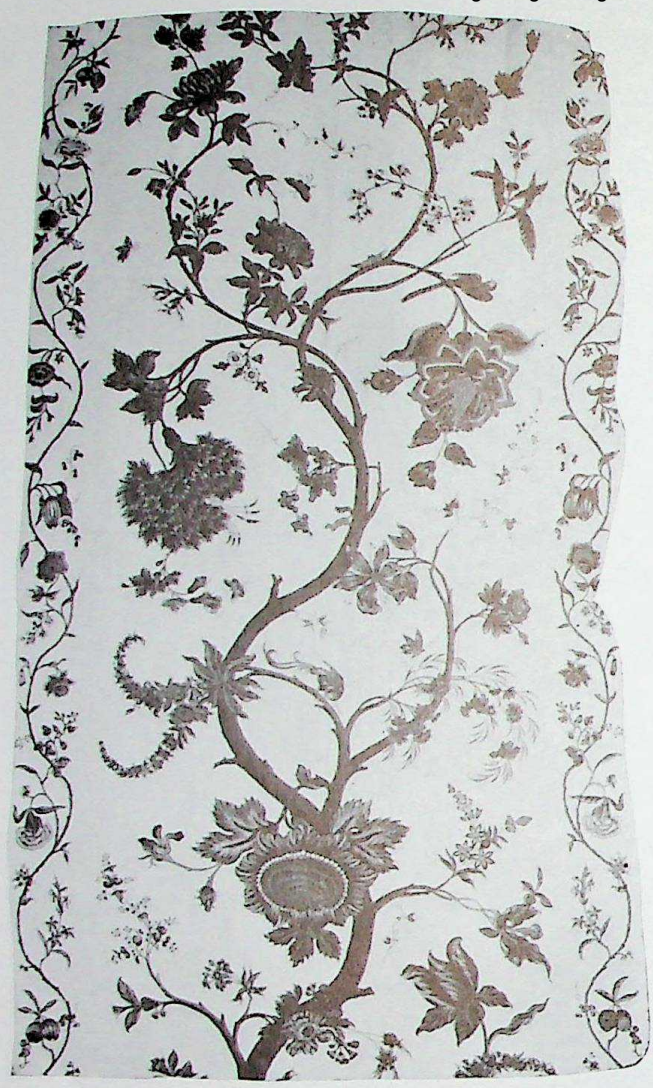
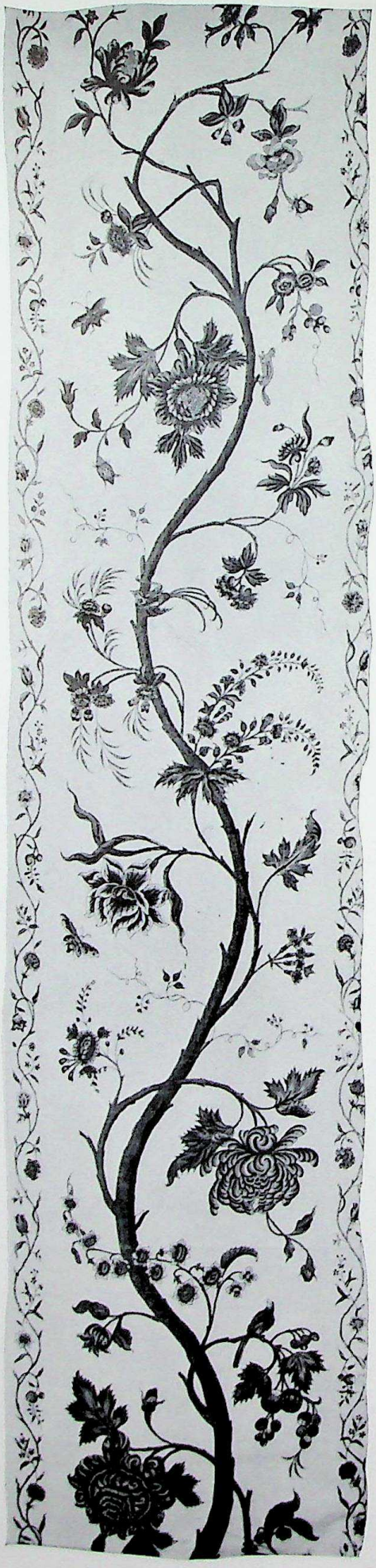
Plate 27. Cat. No. 31. Bedspread. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century

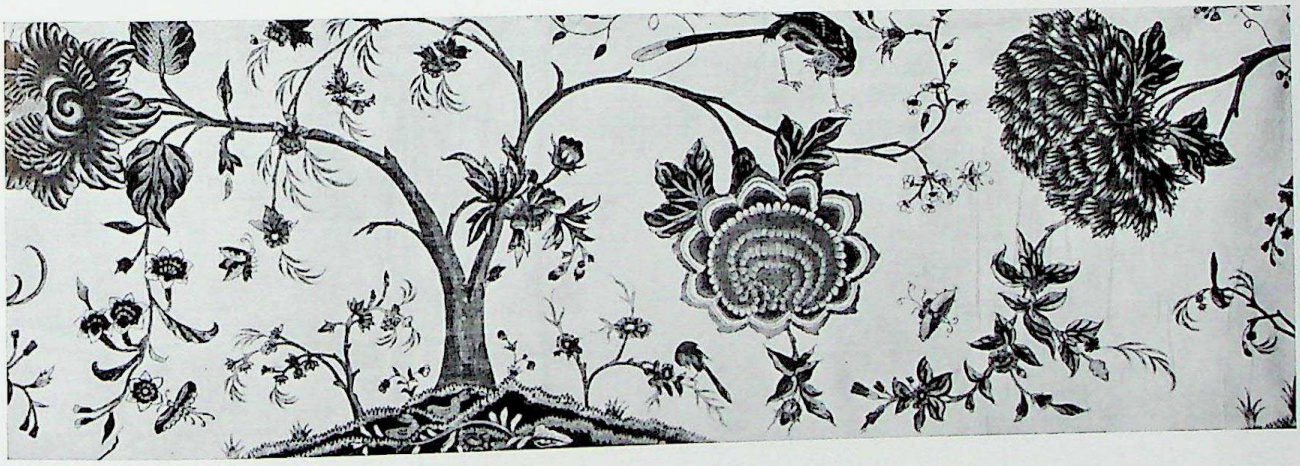
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh





Above: Plate 28a. Cat. No. 31. Hanging or curtain. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century
Right: Plate 28b. Cat. No. 31. Fragment of hanging. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 29a. Cat. No. 31. Upper part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century
Below: Plate 29b. Cat. No. 31. Valance. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 30. Cat. No. 32. Palampore. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigah Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 31. Cat. No. 33. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 1770s

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

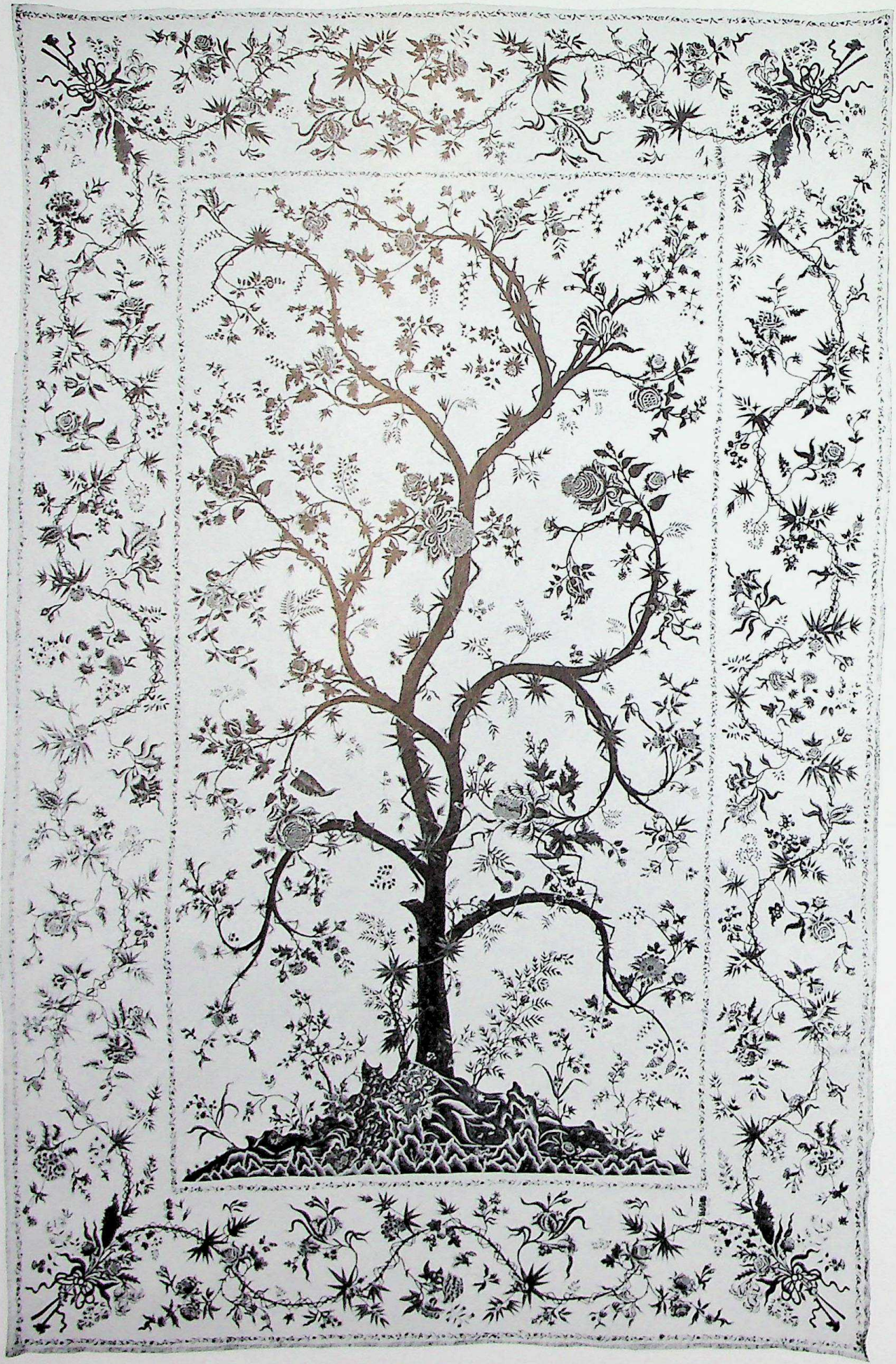


Plate 32

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Left: Plate 32. Cat. No. 34. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 1770s
Above: Plate 33. Cat. No. 34. Curtain. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 1770s

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

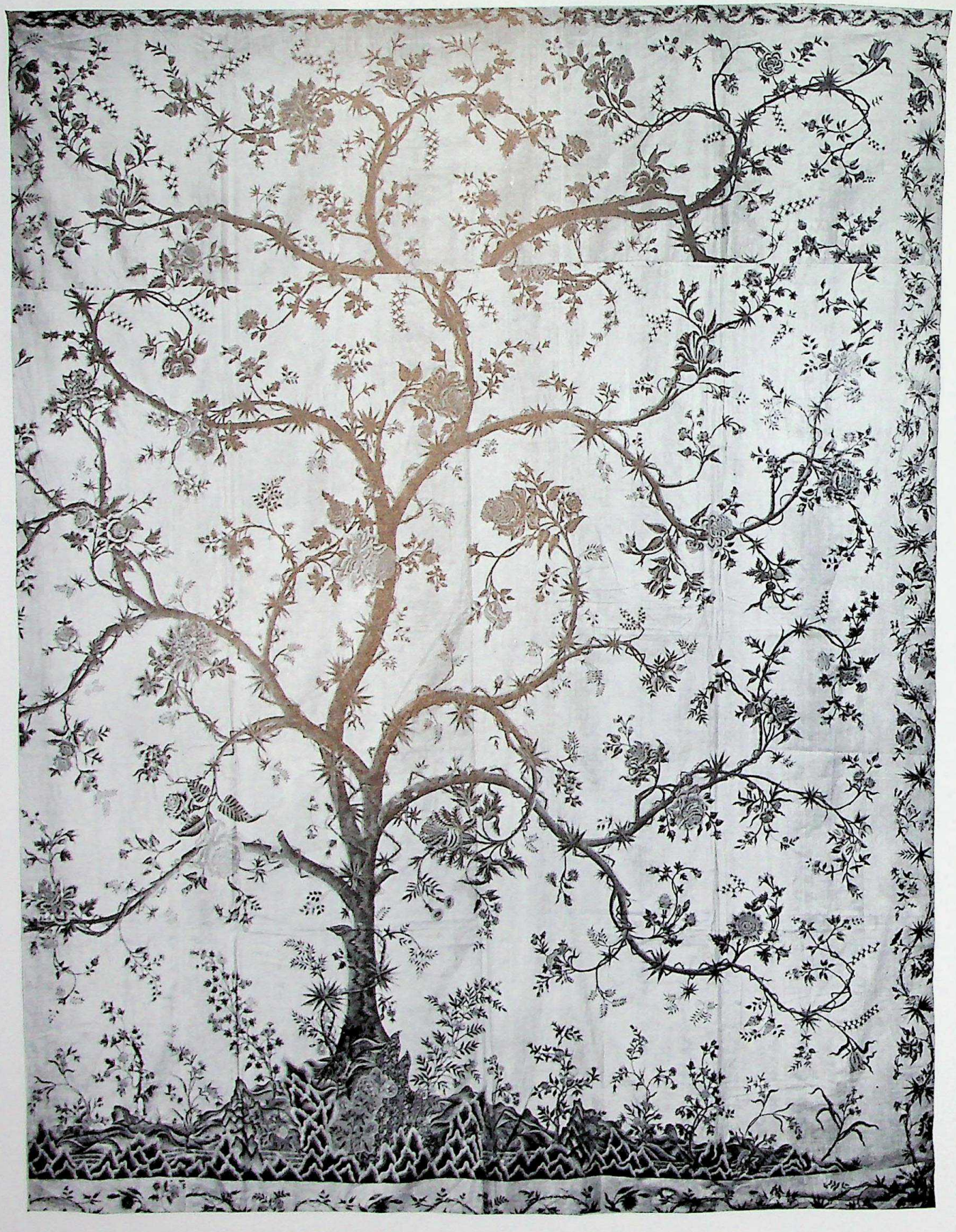


Plate 34. Cat. No. 34. Curtain. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 1770s

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

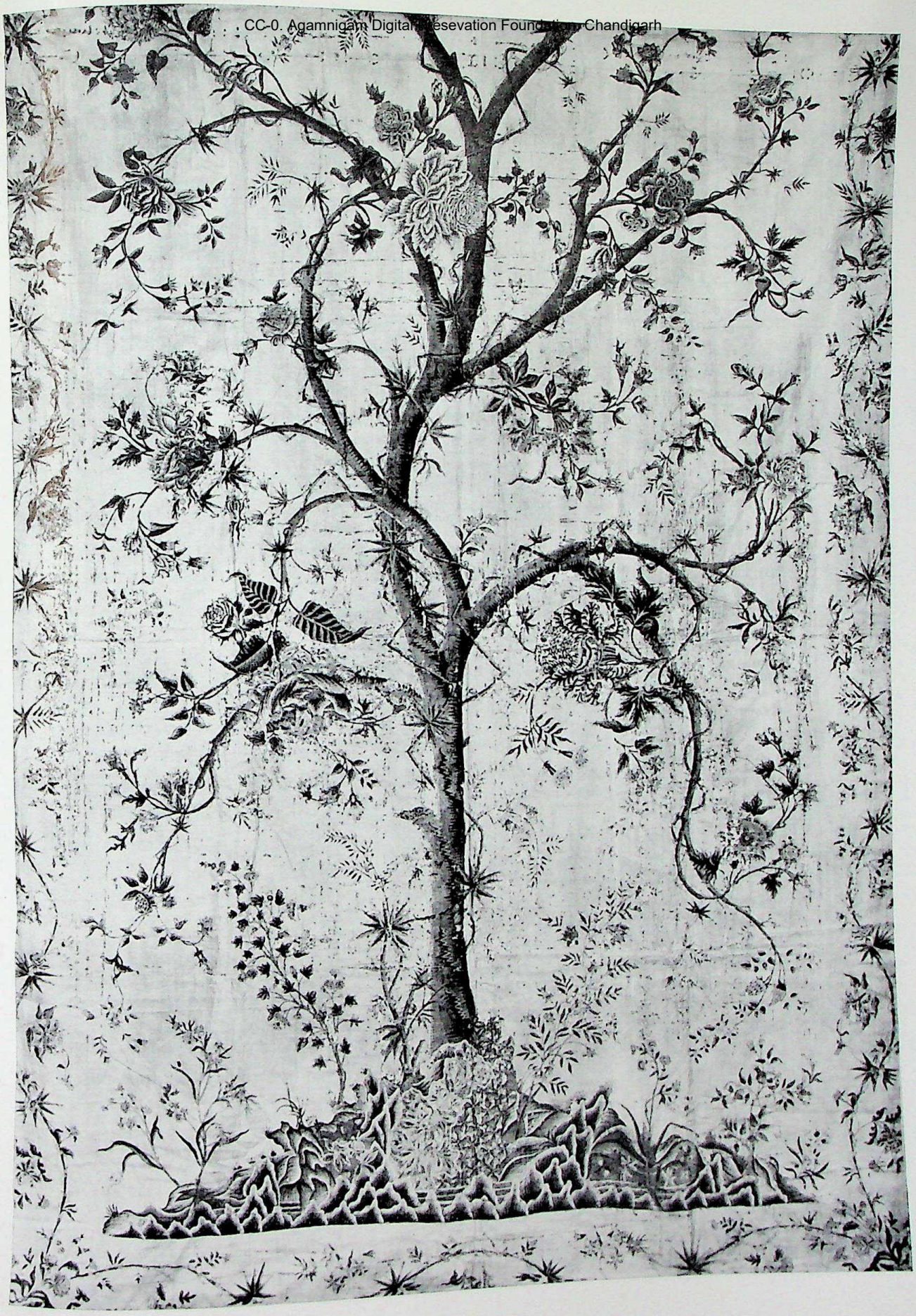


Plate 35. Cat. No. 34. Curtain. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 1770s

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

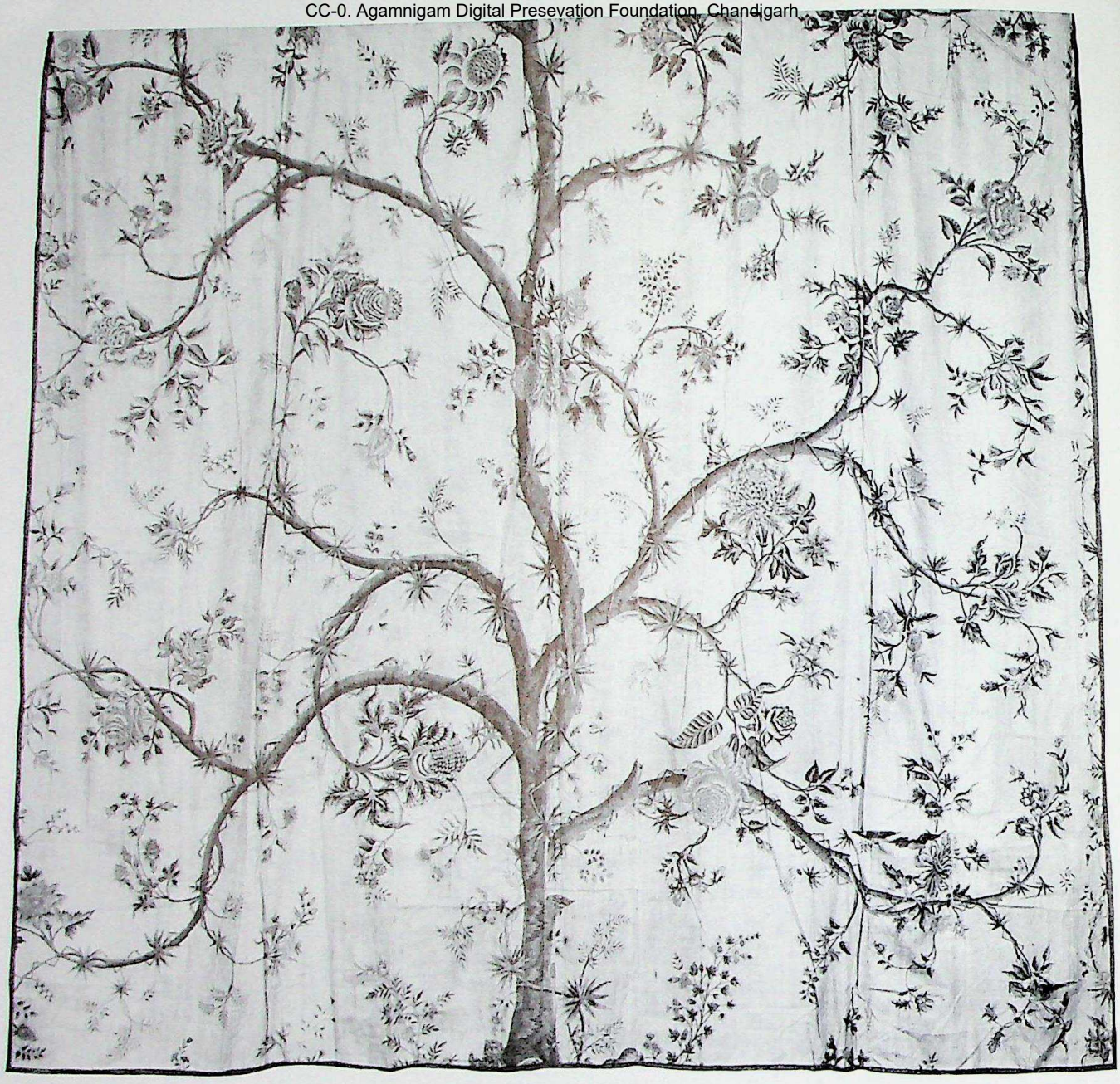


Plate 36. Cat. No. 34. Curtain. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 1770s

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

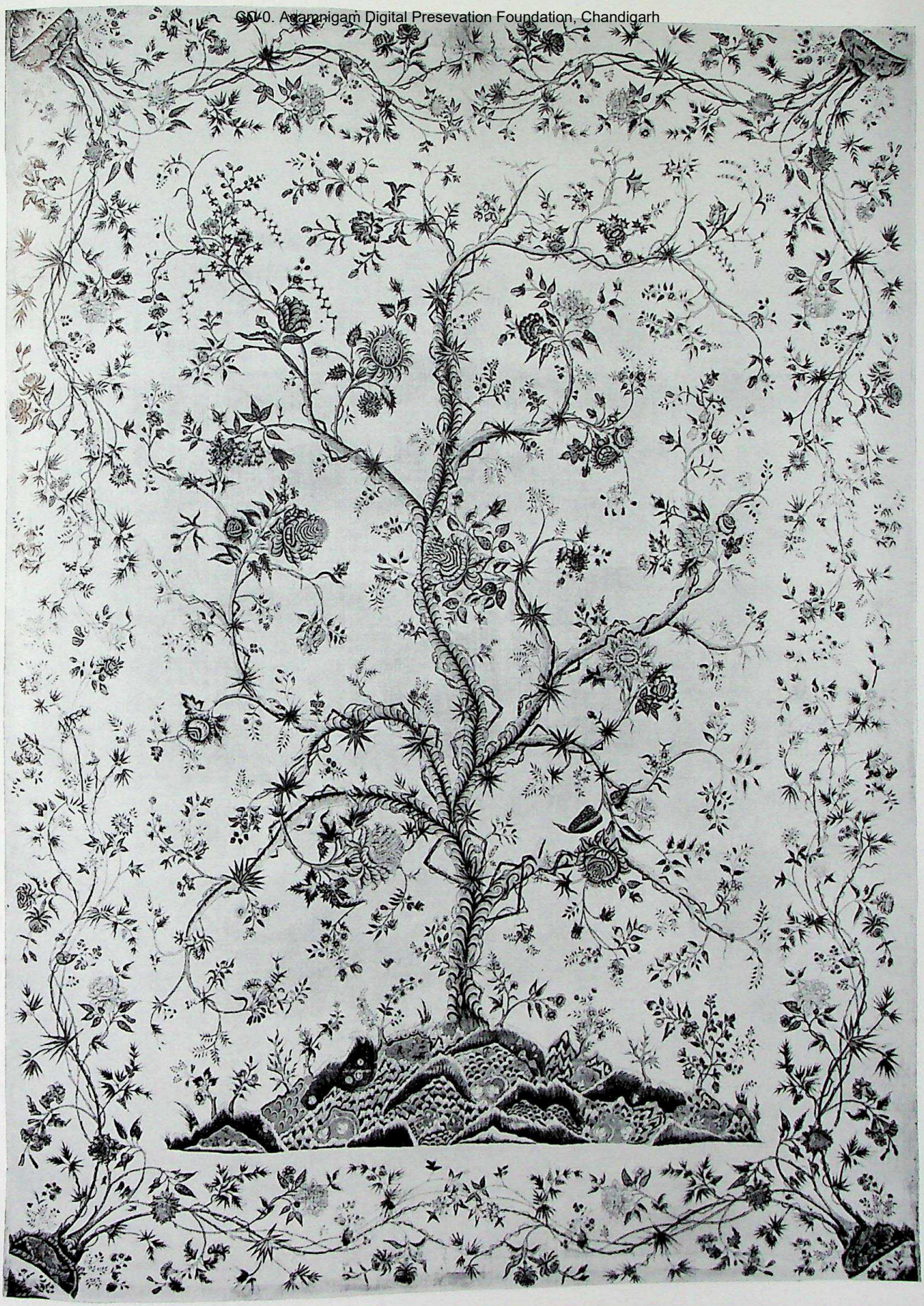


Plate 37. Cat. No. 35. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Above: Plate 38. Cat. No. 36. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter
Right: Plate 39. Cat. No. 37. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

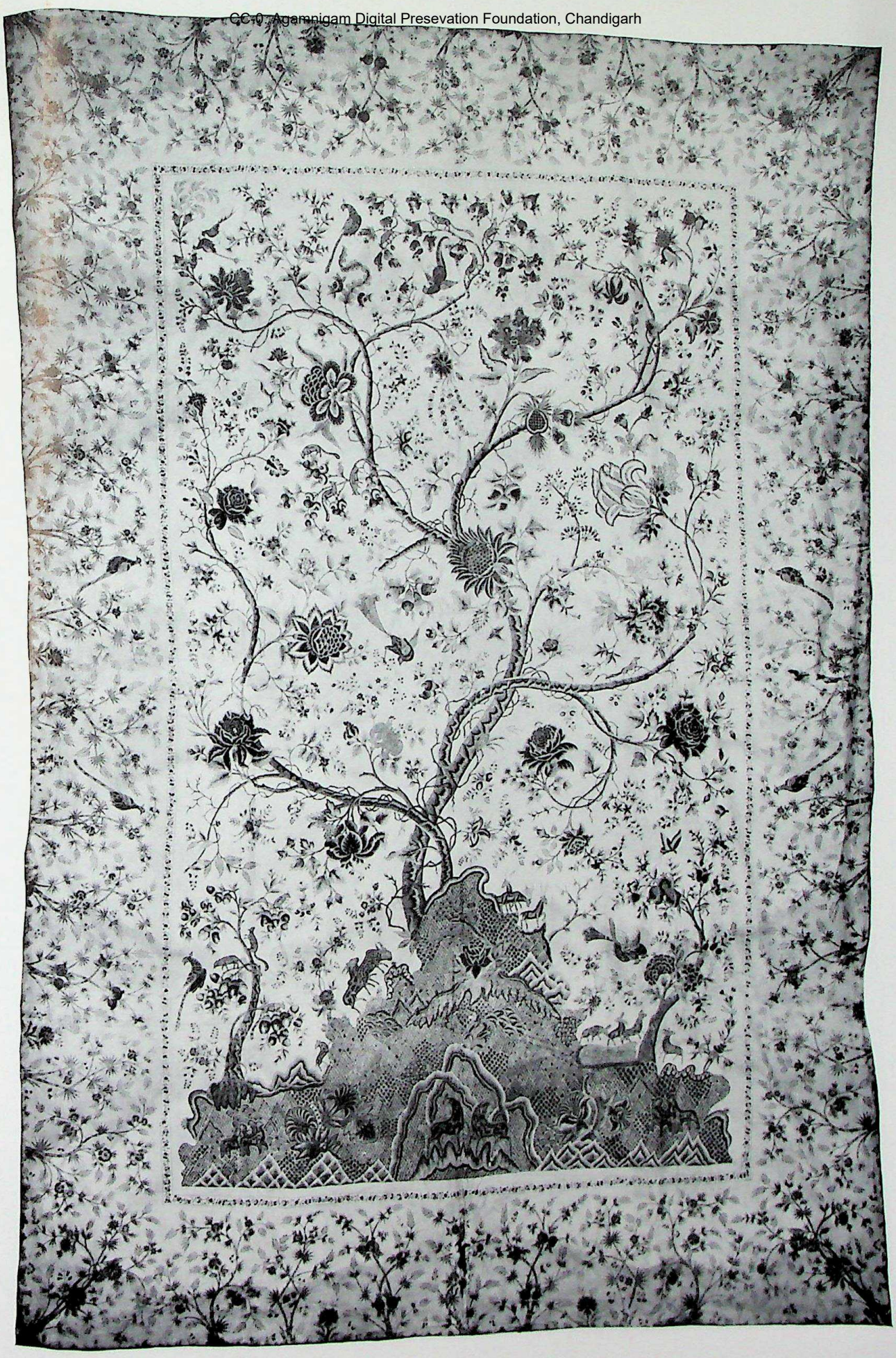
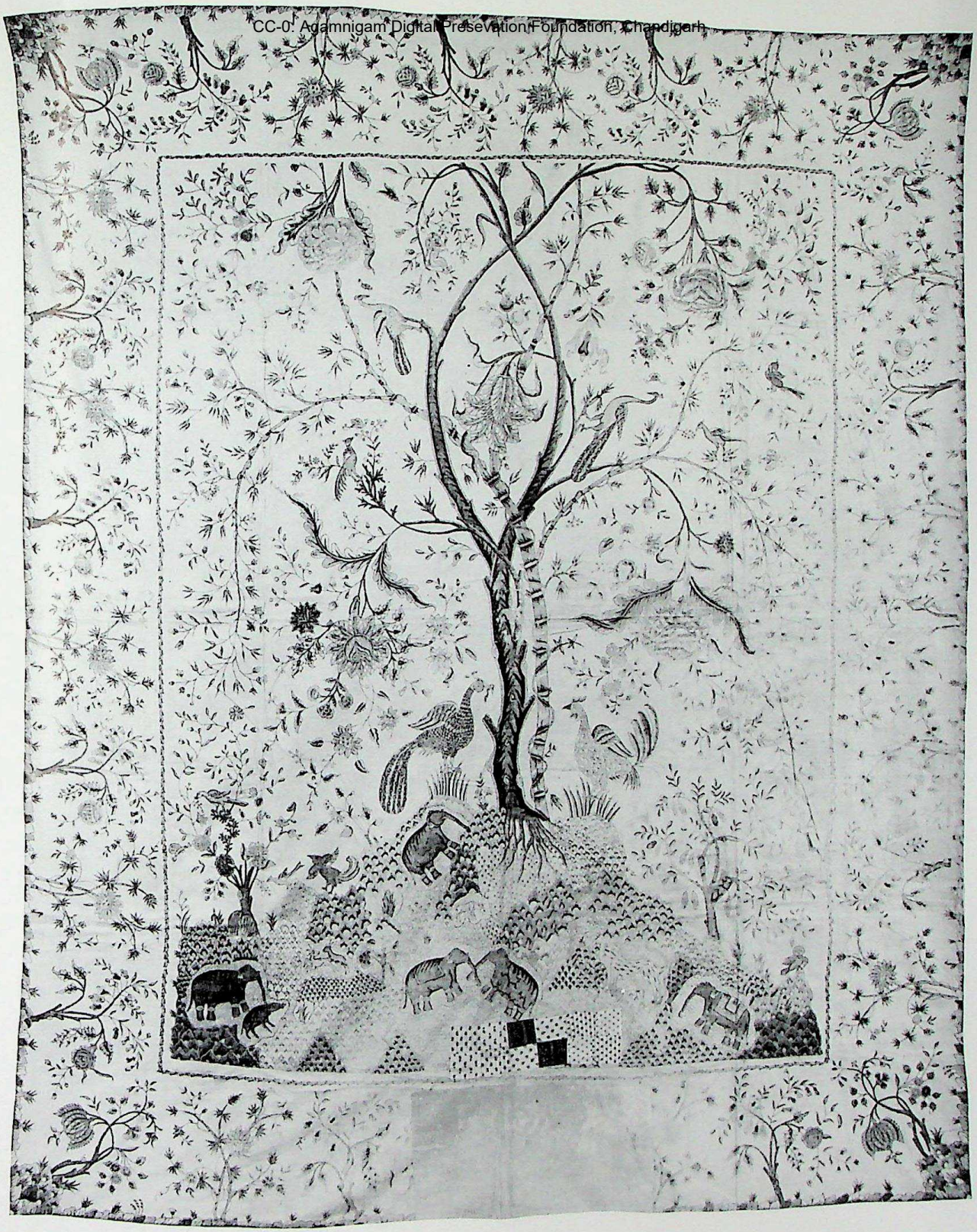


Plate 39

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 40

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 40. Cat. No. 41. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter
Above: Plate 41. Cat. No. 42. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), late 18th or early 19th century

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Left: Plate 42. Cat. No. 43. Palampore. Chingleput District, Madras State, 19th century
Above: Plate 43. Cat. No. 44. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second half

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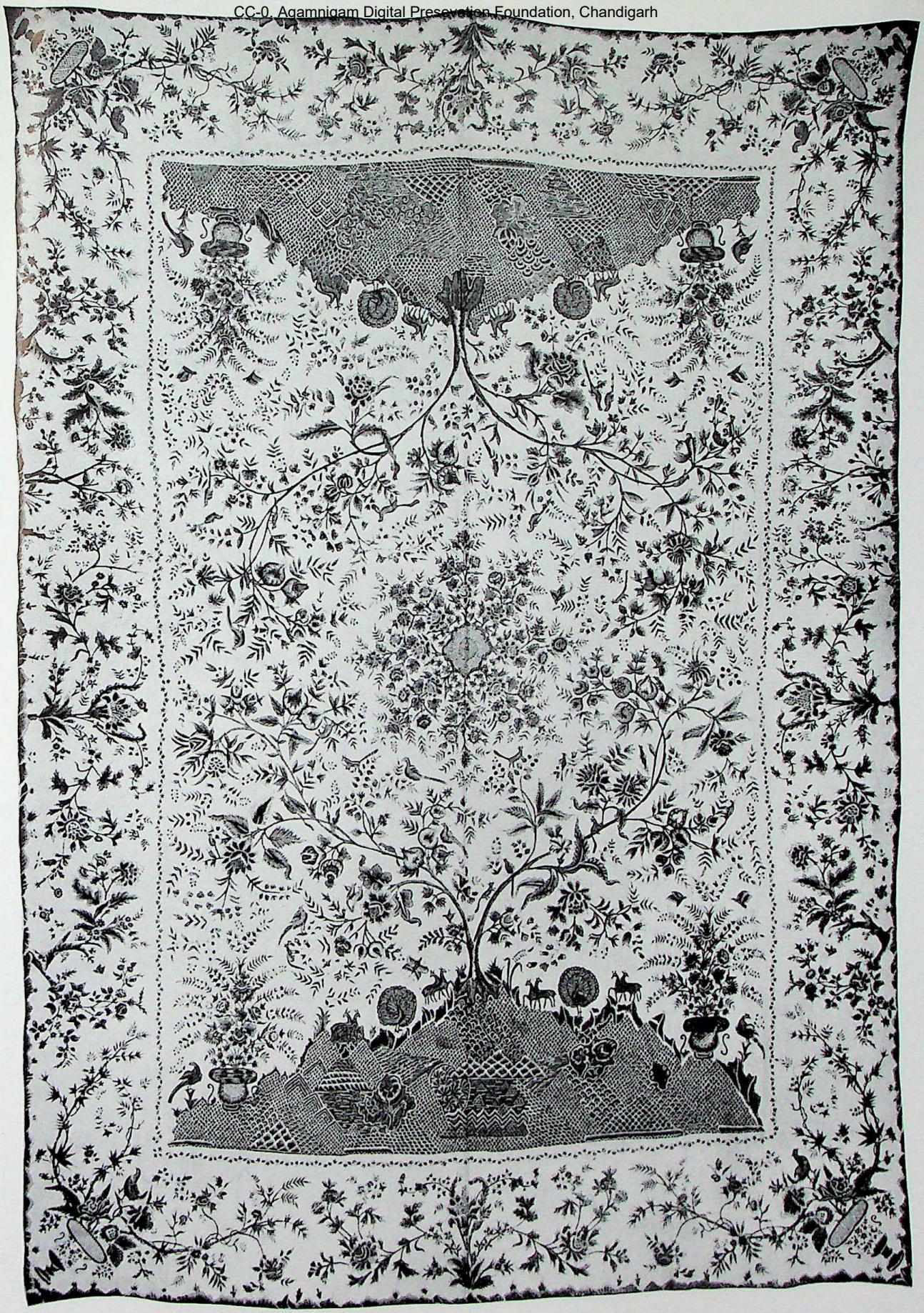
Plate 42

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 42. Cat. No. 43. Palampore. Chingleput District, Madras State, 19th century
Above: Plate 43. Cat. No. 44. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

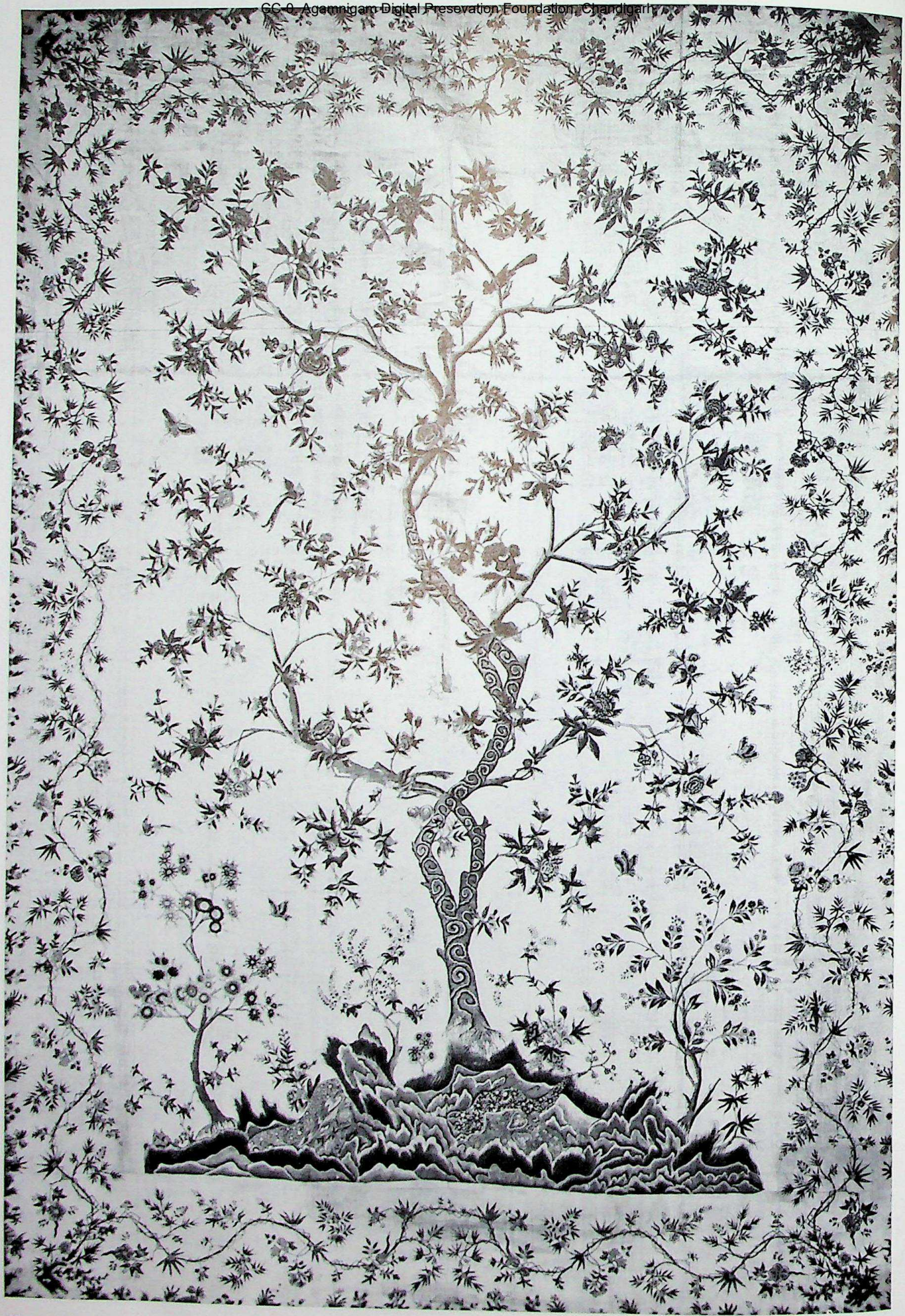
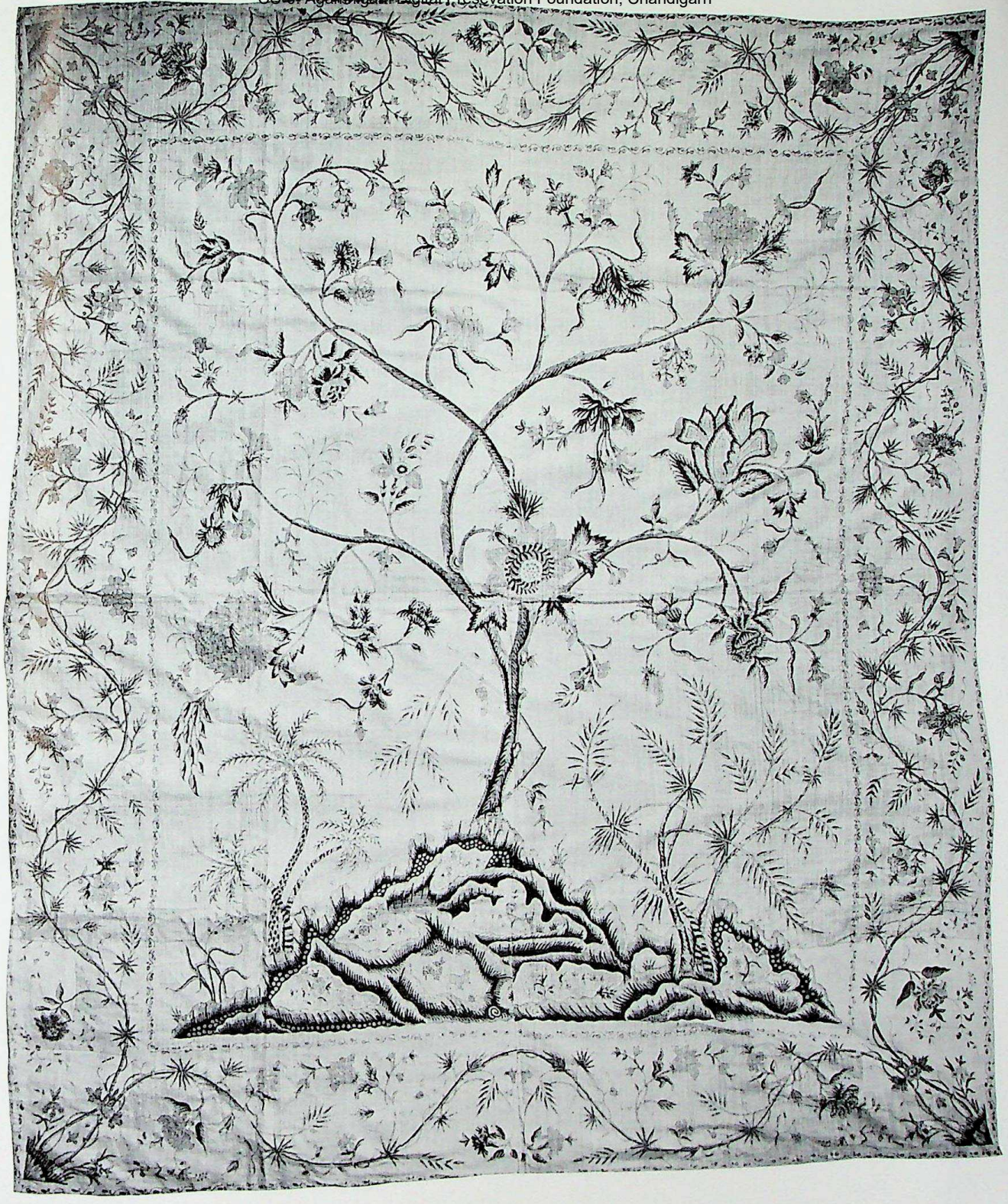


Plate 44

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 44. Cat. No. 46. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter
Above: Plate 45. Cat. No. 47. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), late 18th or early 19th century

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Plate 46. Cat. No. 48. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), late 18th or early 19th century

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Plate 47. Cat. No. 49. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 48. Cat. No. 50. Palampore. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, second half

CC-0. Asamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 49. Cat. No. 51. Palampore. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, last quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

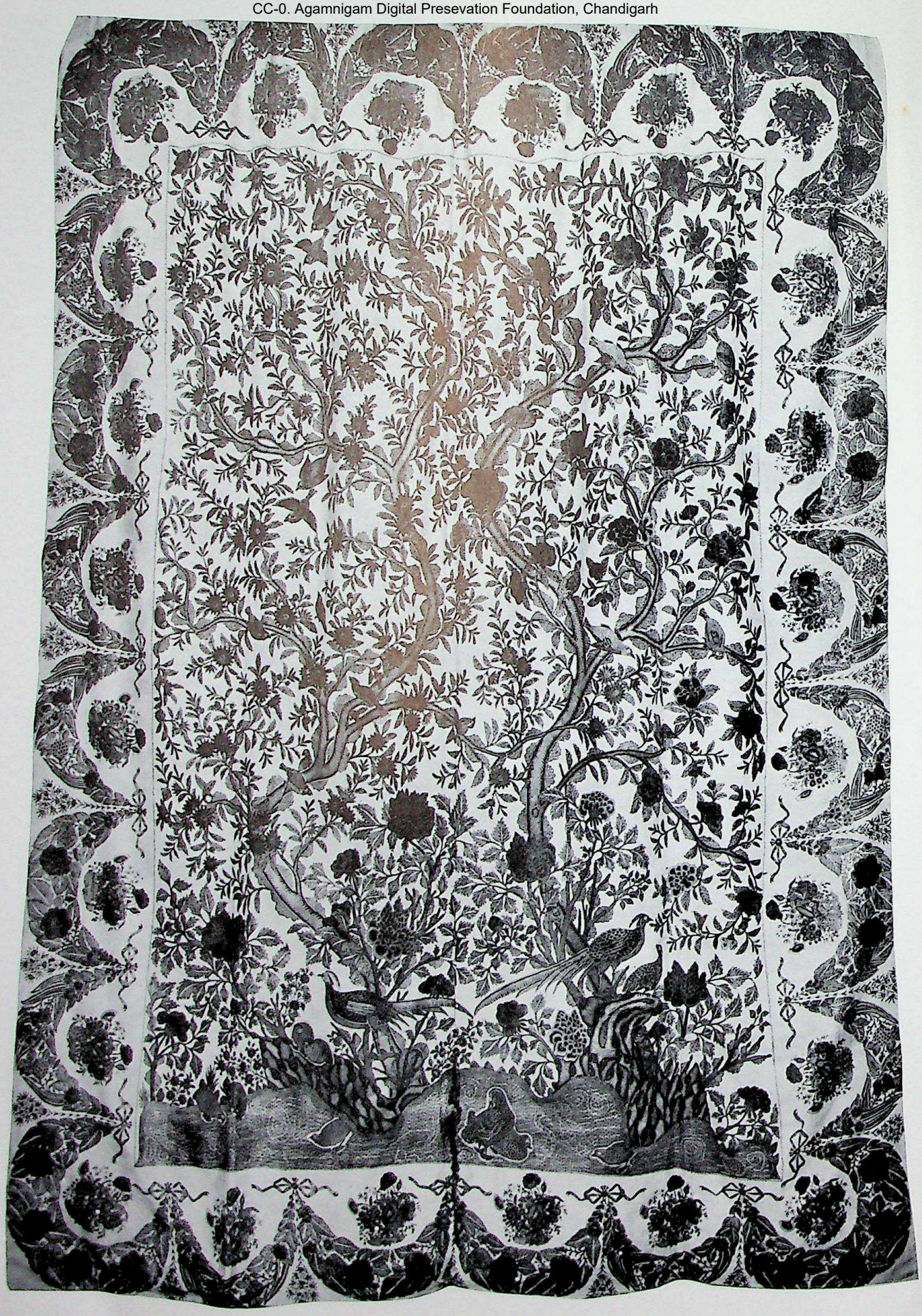
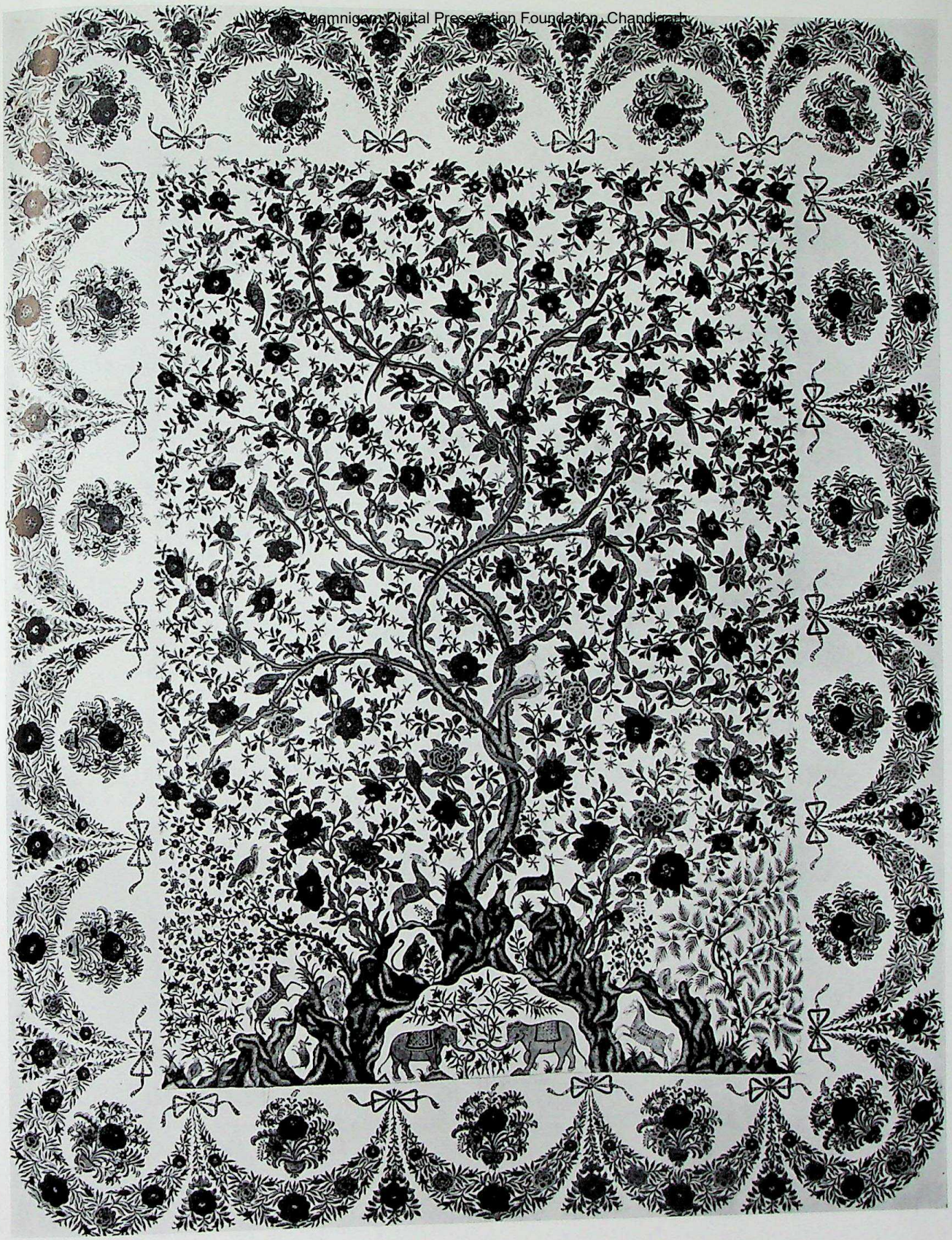


Plate 50. Cat. No. 52. Palampore. Provenance uncertain, 19th century

CC-0. Anamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 51. Cat. No. 53. Palampore. Provenance uncertain, 19th century
Over page: Plate 52. Cat. No. 54. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 19th century
Plate 53. Cat. No. 55. Palampore. From Rajahmundry, Andhra State. Made for the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 52

CC-0. Kanmigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

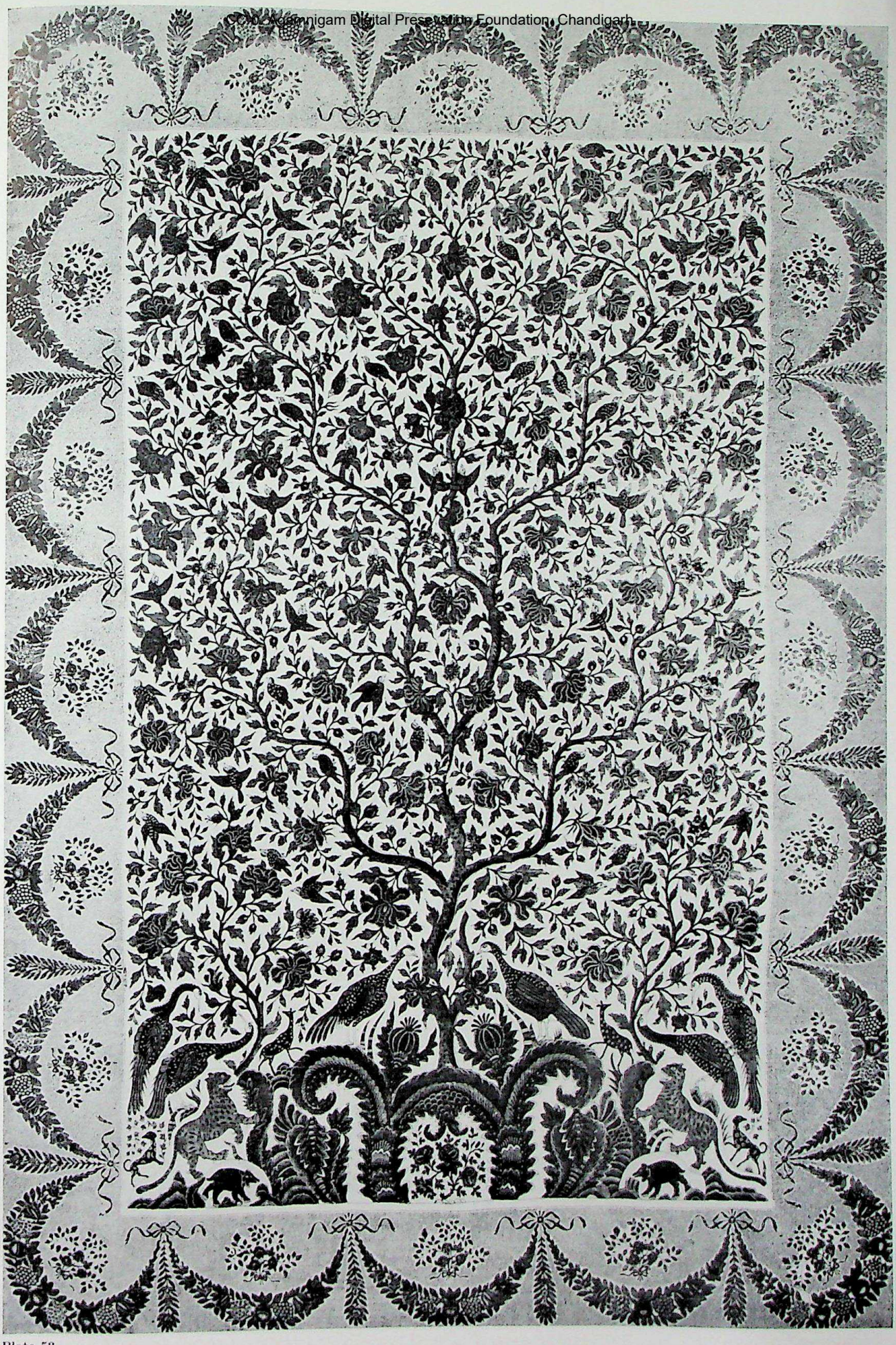


Plate 53

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

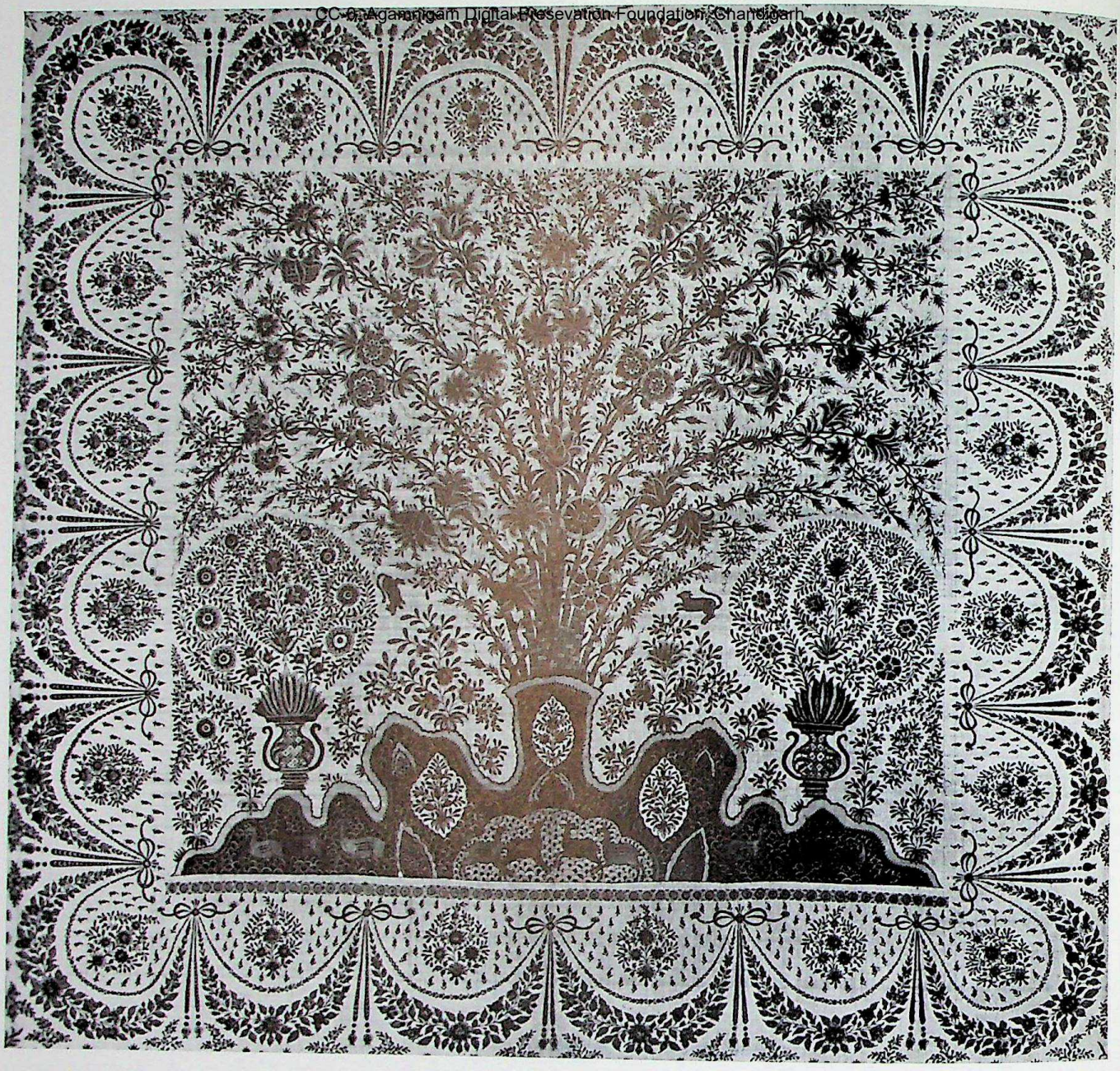


Plate 54. Cat. No. 56. Palampore. From Rajahmundry, Andhra State. Made for the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

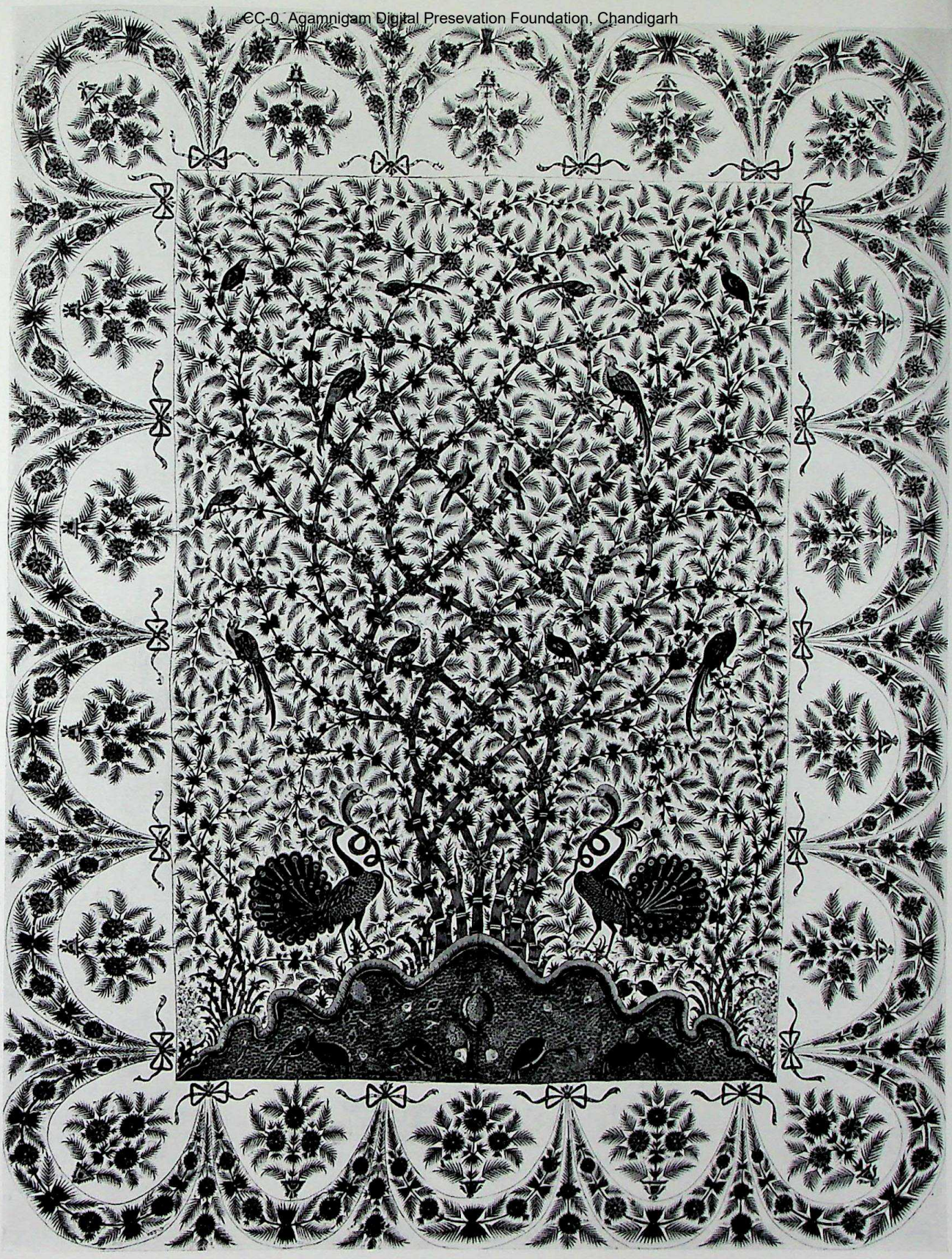
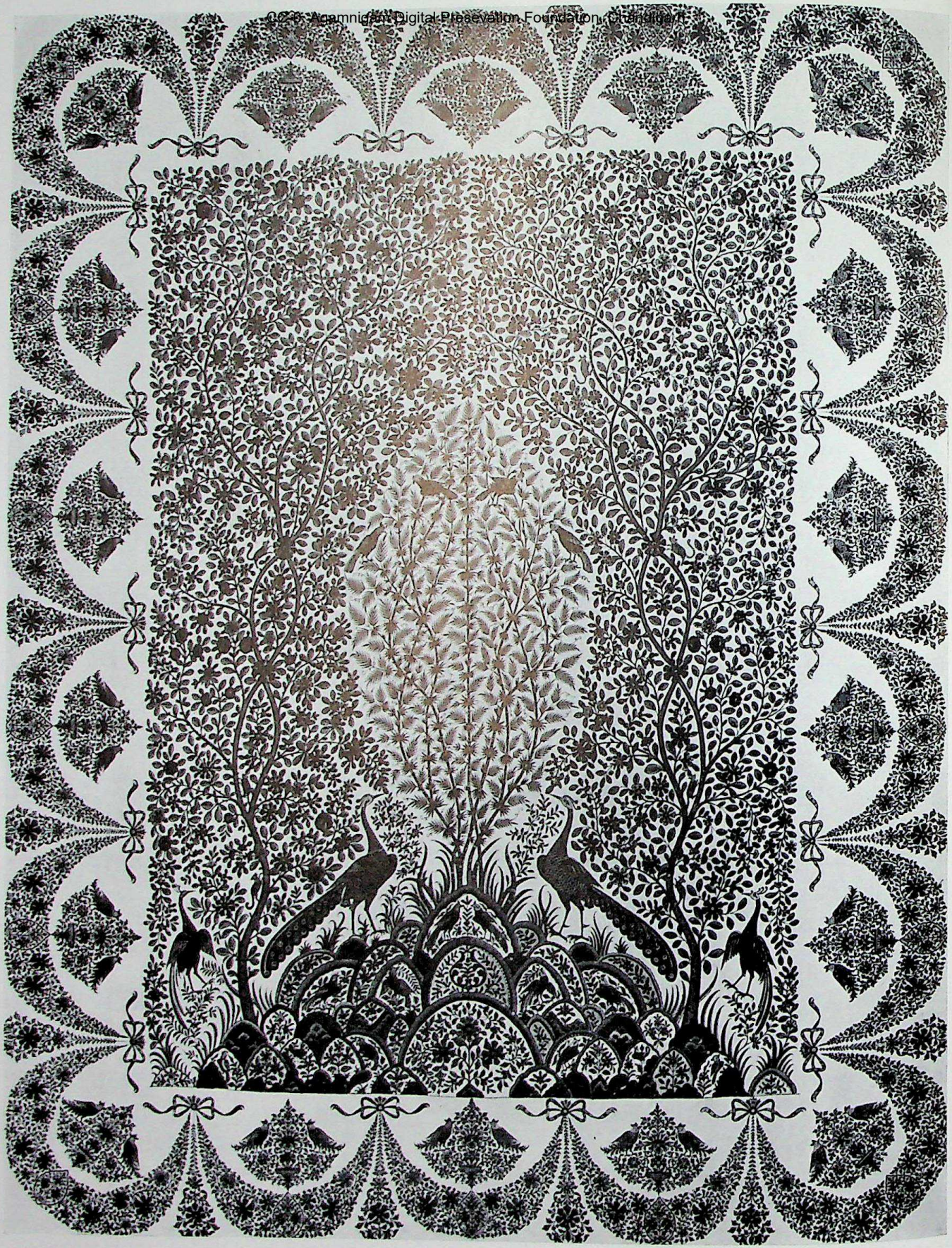


Plate 55. Cat. No. 57. Palampore. Andhra State. Probably made for the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 56. Cat. No. 58. Palampore. Andhra State. Probably made for the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855
Right: Plate 57. Cat. No. 59. Coverlet, hanging or prayer-mat. Burhanpur, North Deccan, late 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 57

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh.

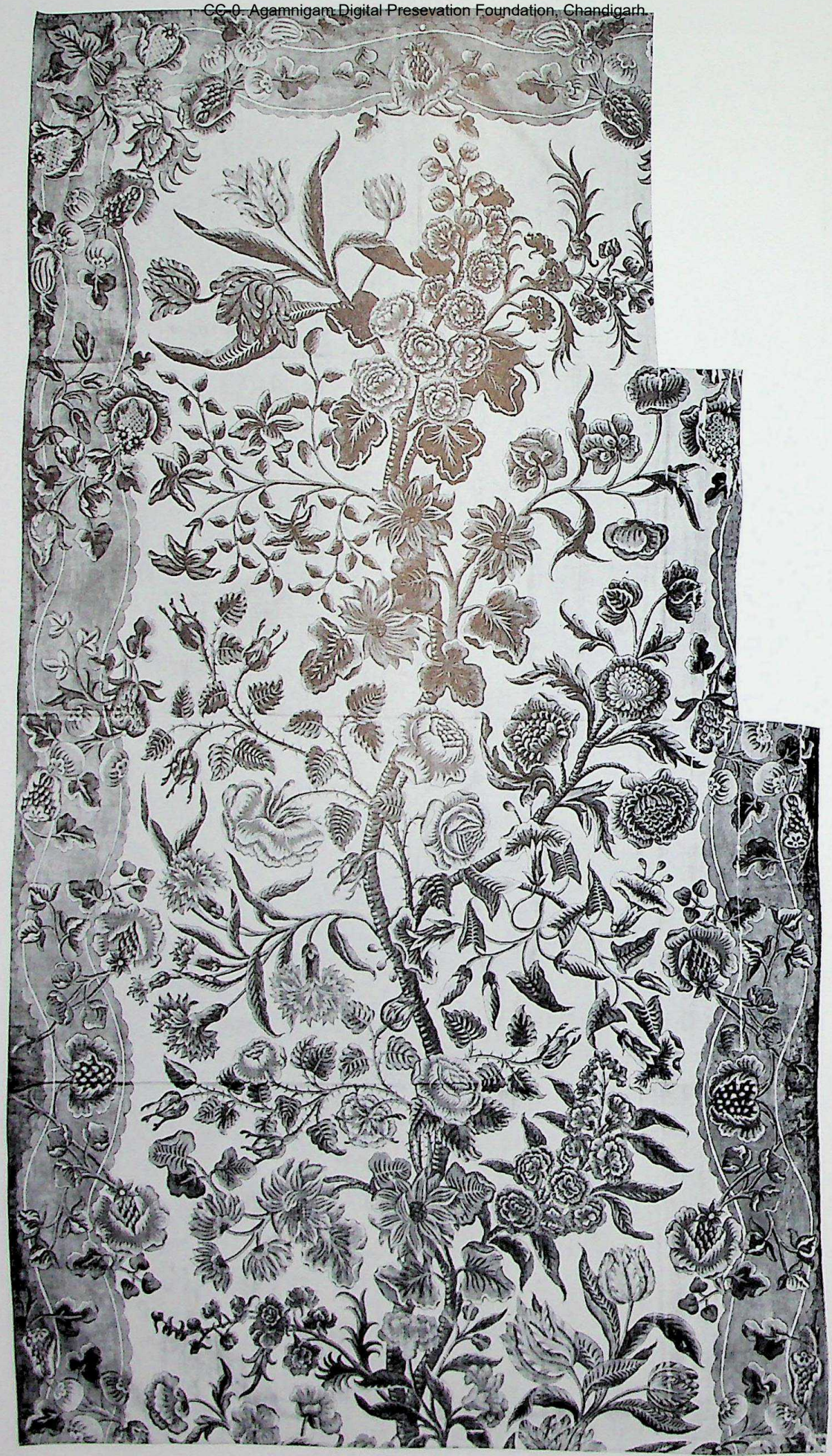
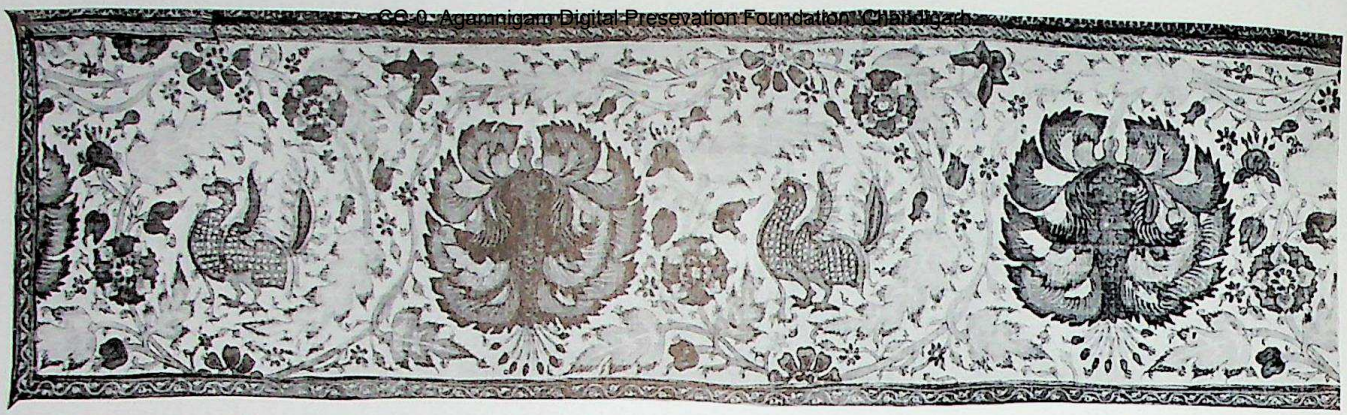


Plate 58

CC-0. Chandigarh Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Left: Plate 58. Cat. No. 60. Hanging. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, second quarter
Above: Plate 59. Cat. No. 61. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, second half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 60a. Cat. No. 96. Fragments of a border. Coromandel Coast (southern region), late 17th or early 18th century
Below: Plate 60b. Cat. No. 62. Part of a set of bed hangings. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Agamnoam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

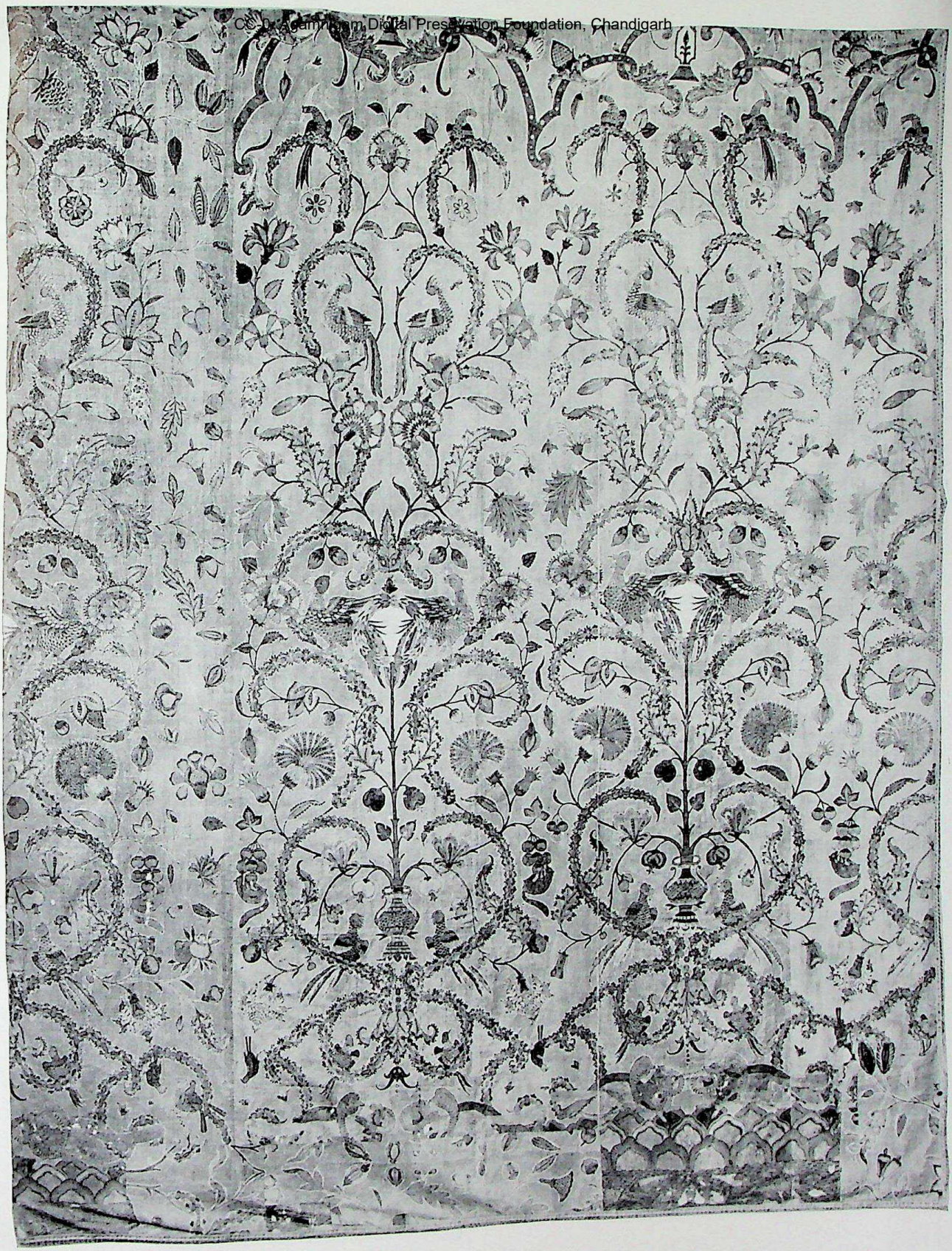


Plate 61. Cat. No. 63. Curtain (one of a pair) from a six-sided canopy. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 62a. Cat. No. 64. Part of a set of hangings. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half

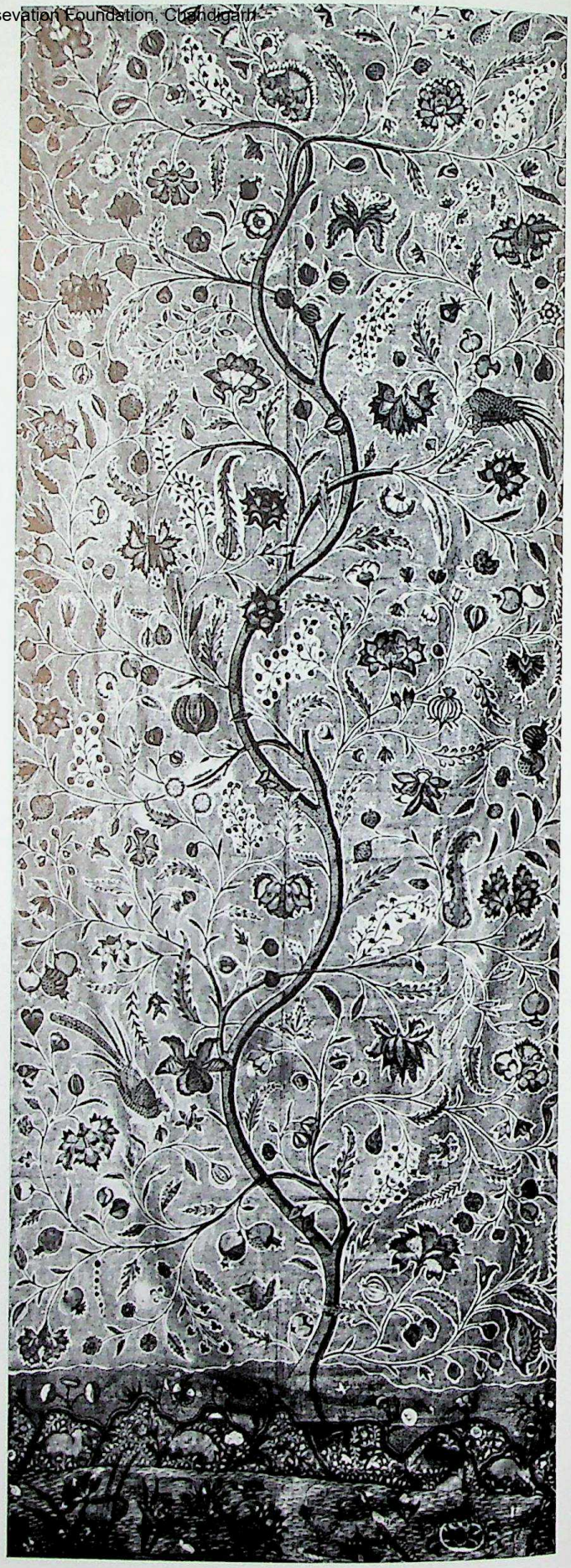
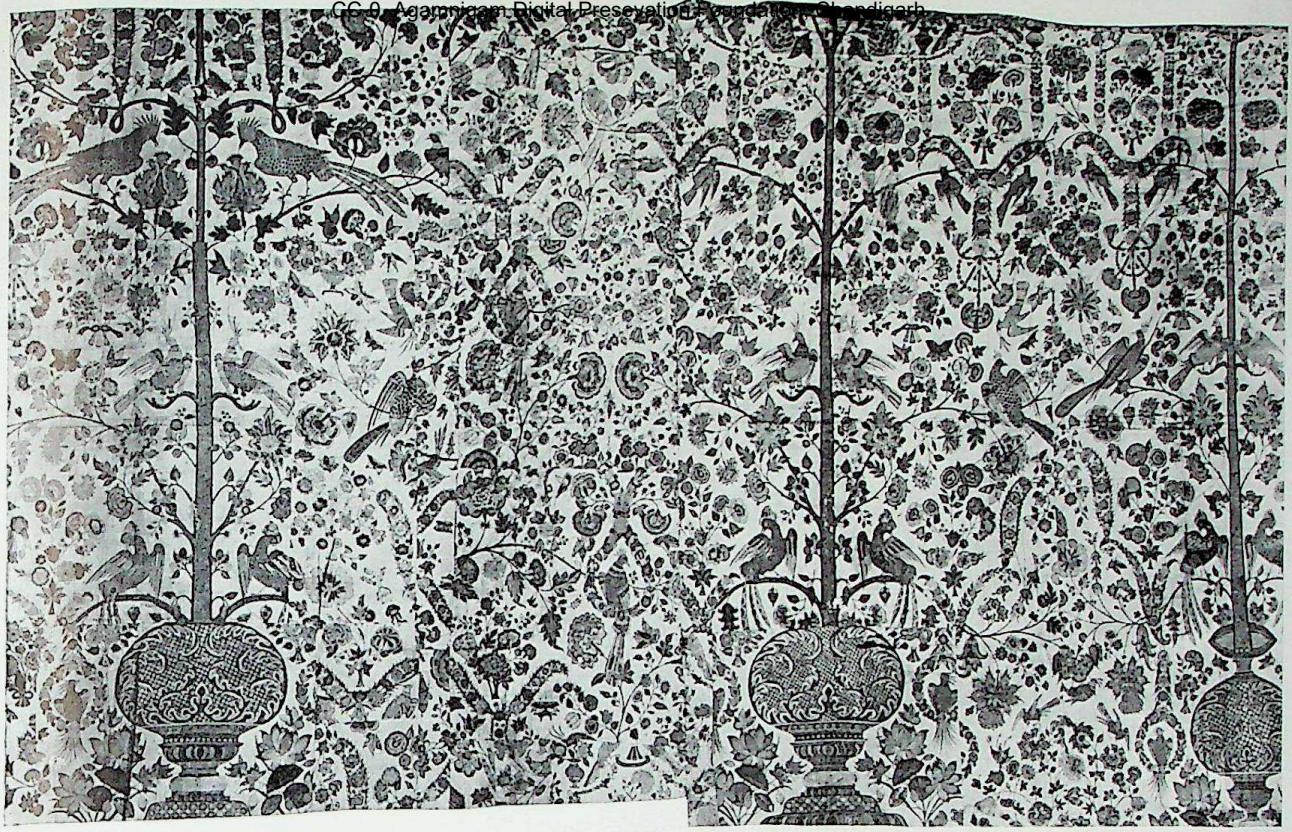
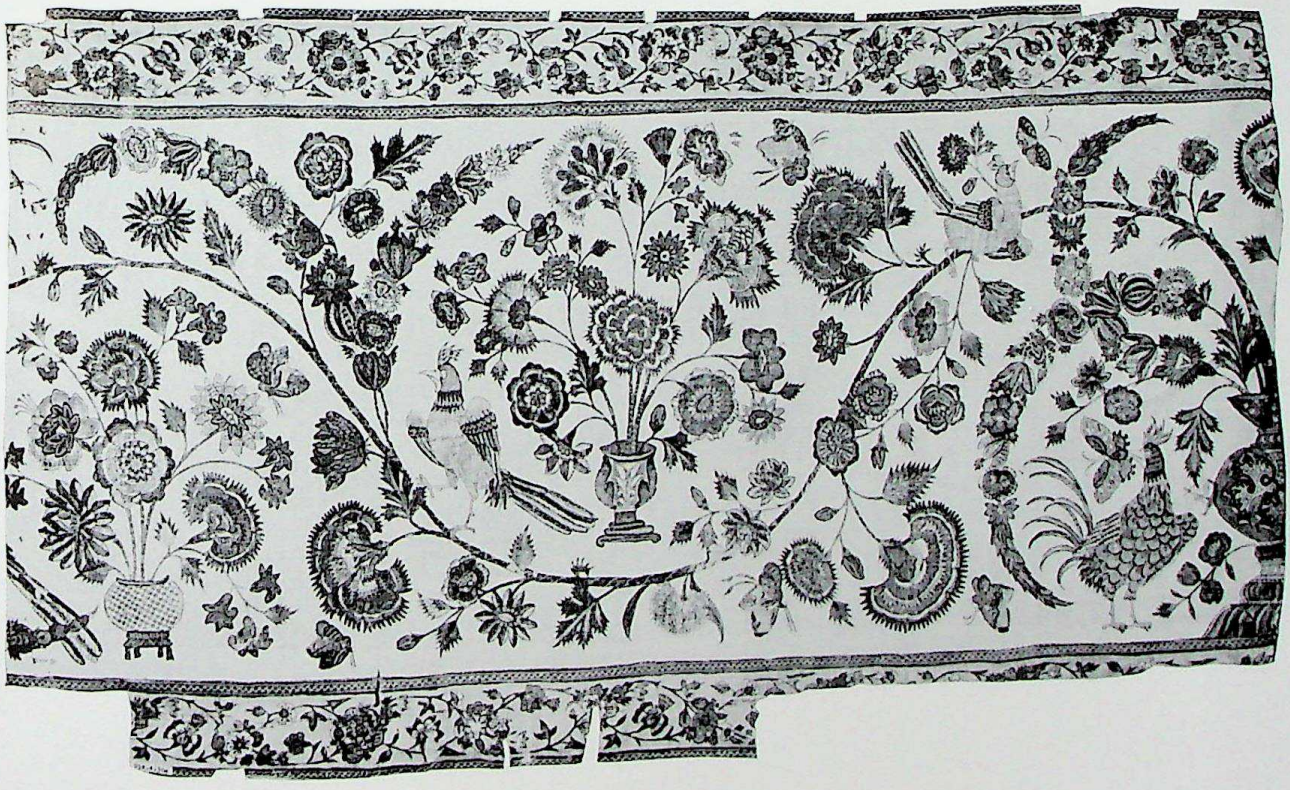


Plate 62b. Cat. No. 62. Part of a set of bed hangings. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh





Above: Plate 63a. Cat. No. 64. Part of a set of hangings. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half
Below: Plate 63b. Cat. No. 65. Fragment. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 64a. Cat. No. 20. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), 18th century, first half

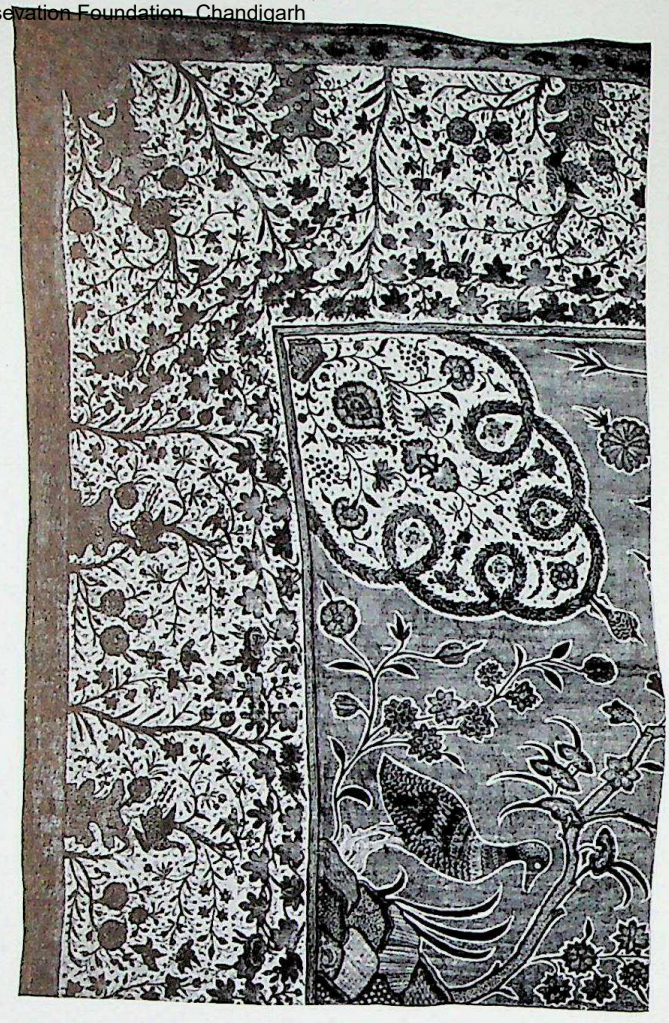
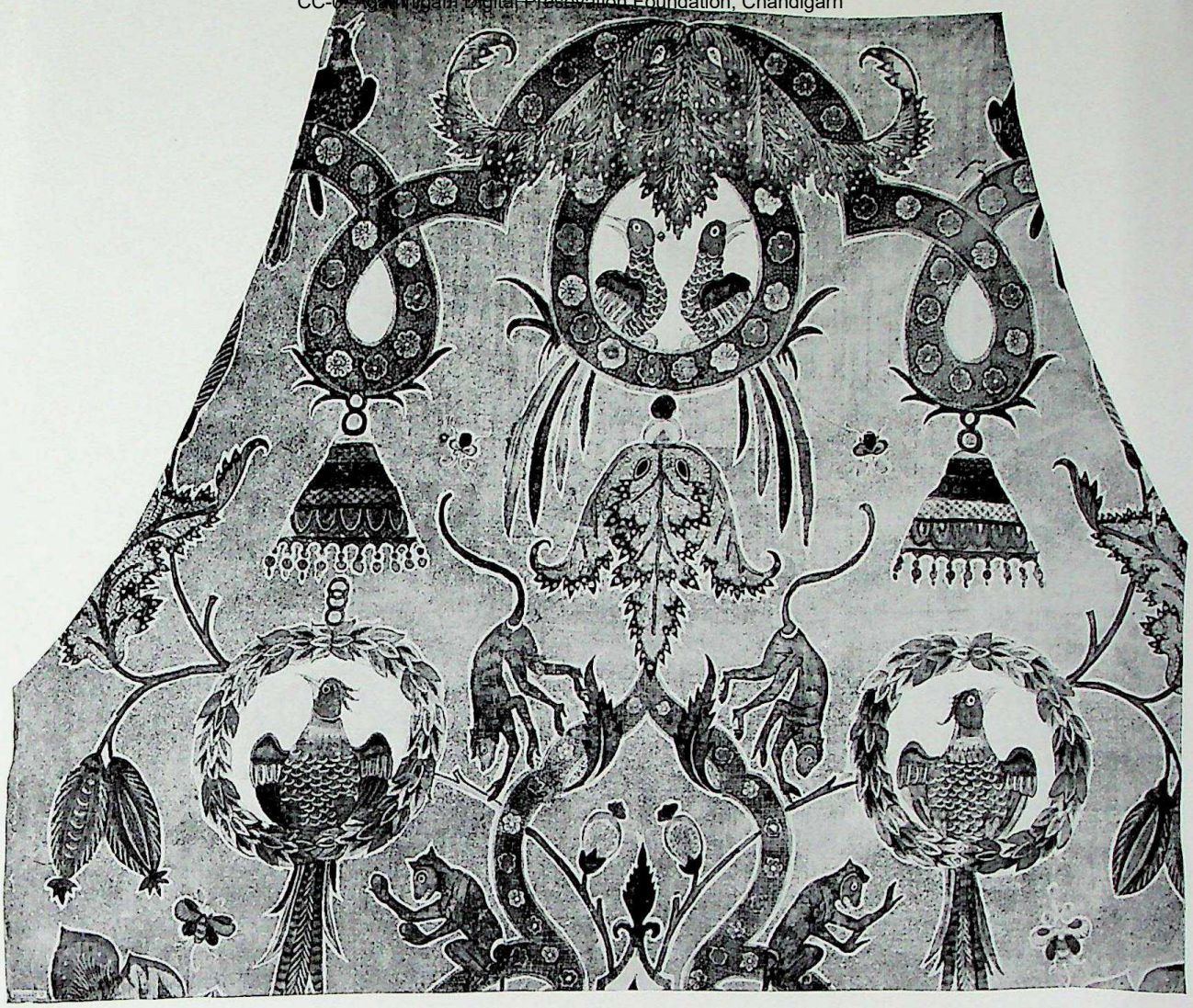


Plate 64b. Cat. No. 62. Fragment. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Kapoor Jigan Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 65. Cat. No. 63. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century
Over page: Plate 66. Cat. No. 66. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century
Plate 67. Cat. No. 67. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

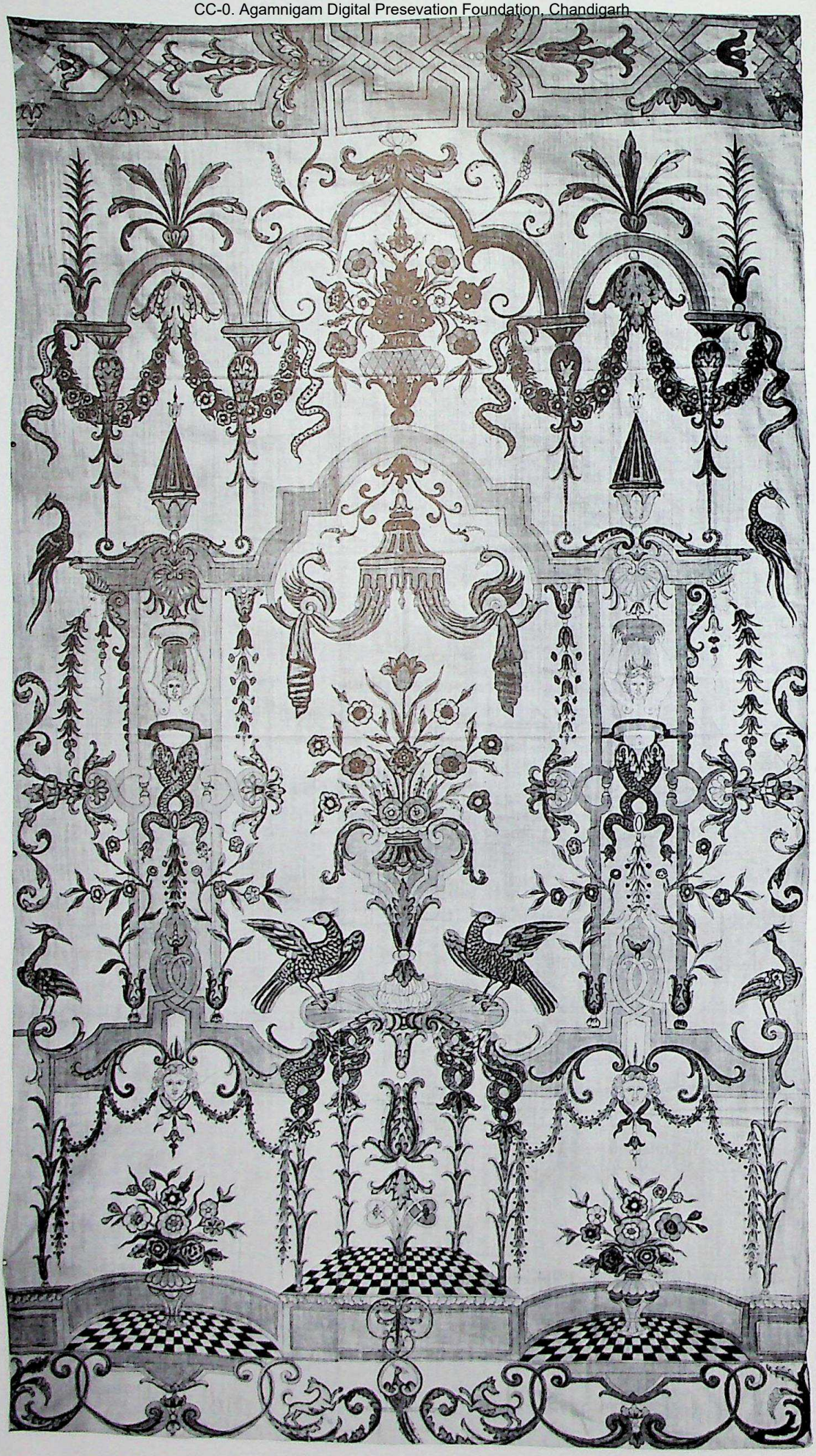
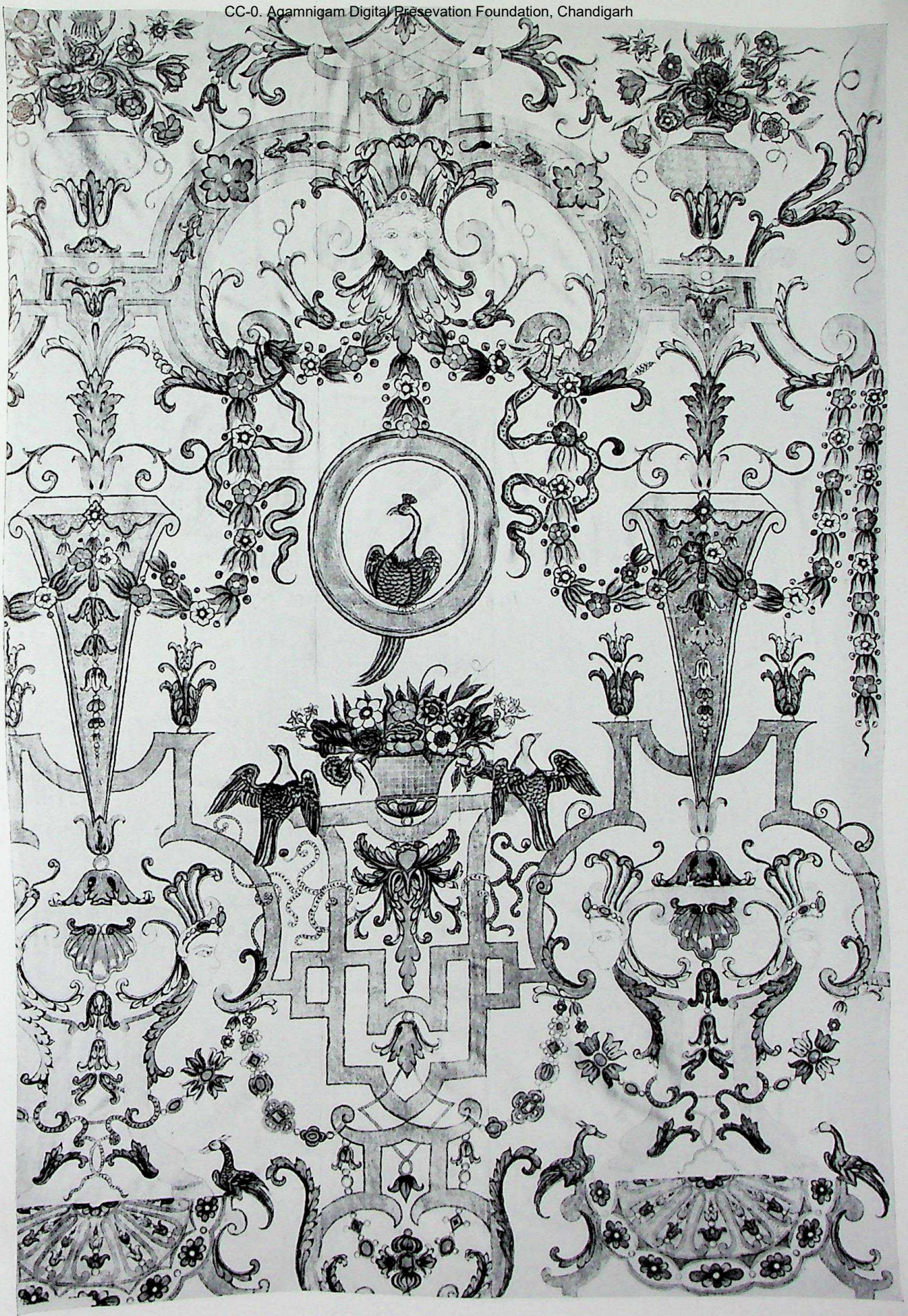
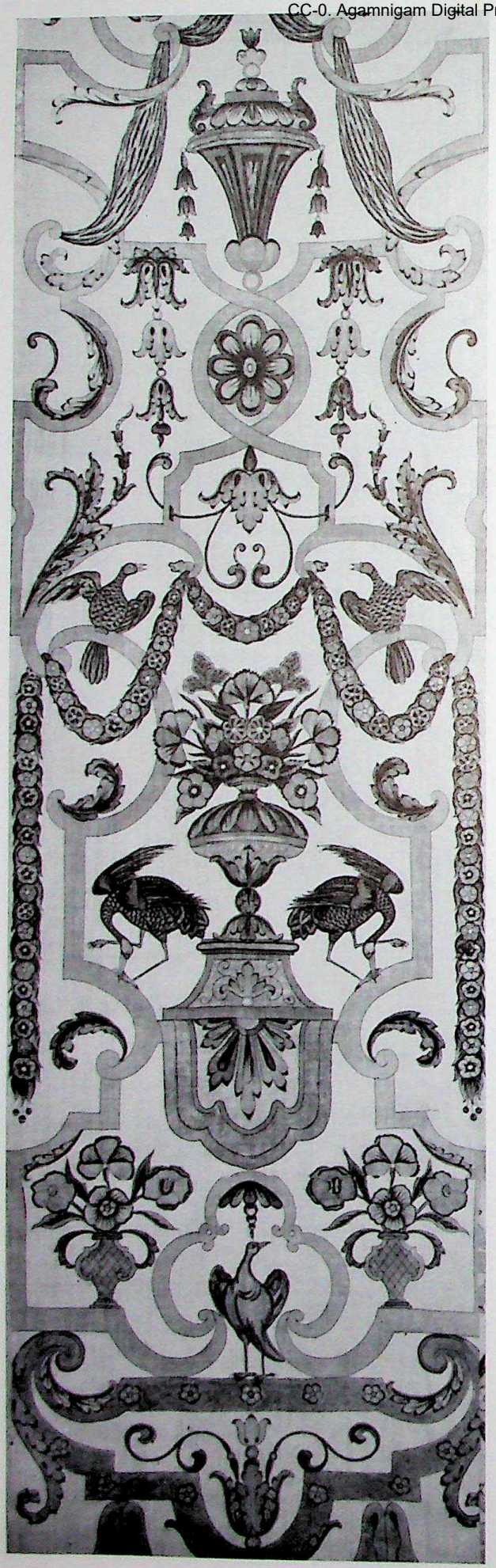


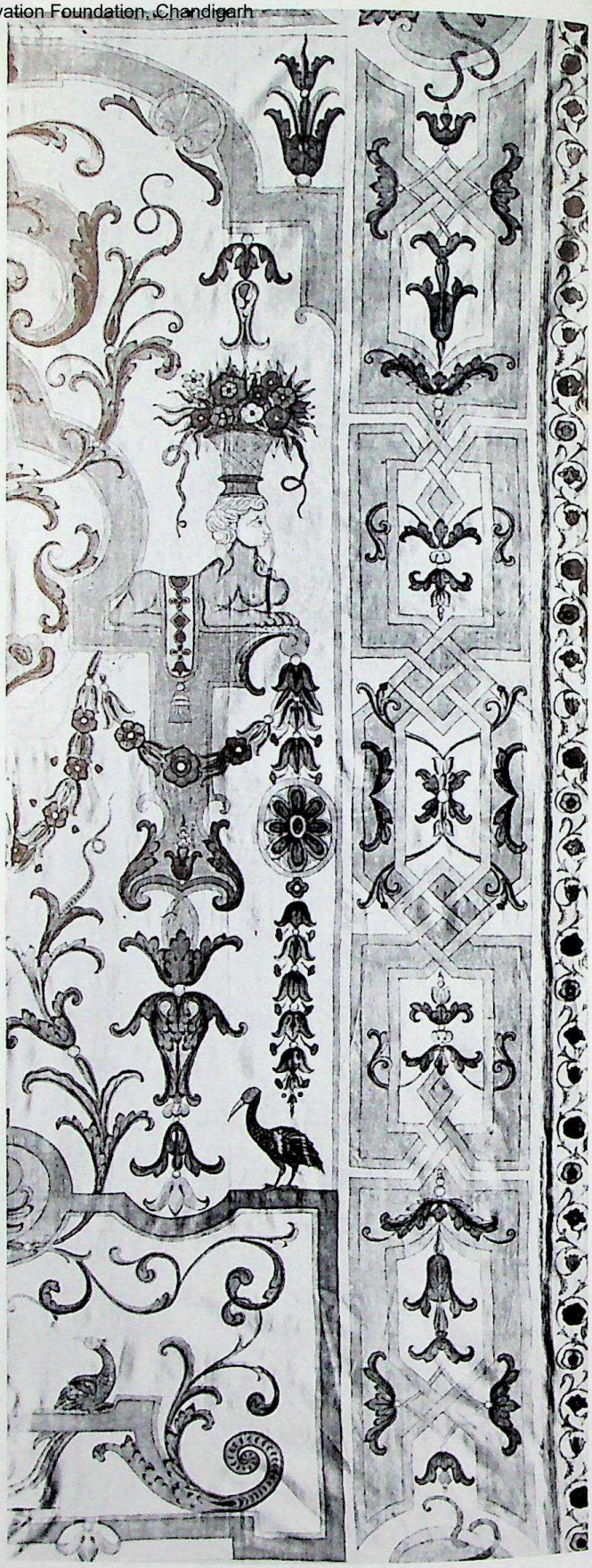
Plate 66

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh





Left: Plate 68a. Cat. No. 69. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century
Above: Plate 68b. Cat. No. 68. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Asian Heritage Textile Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

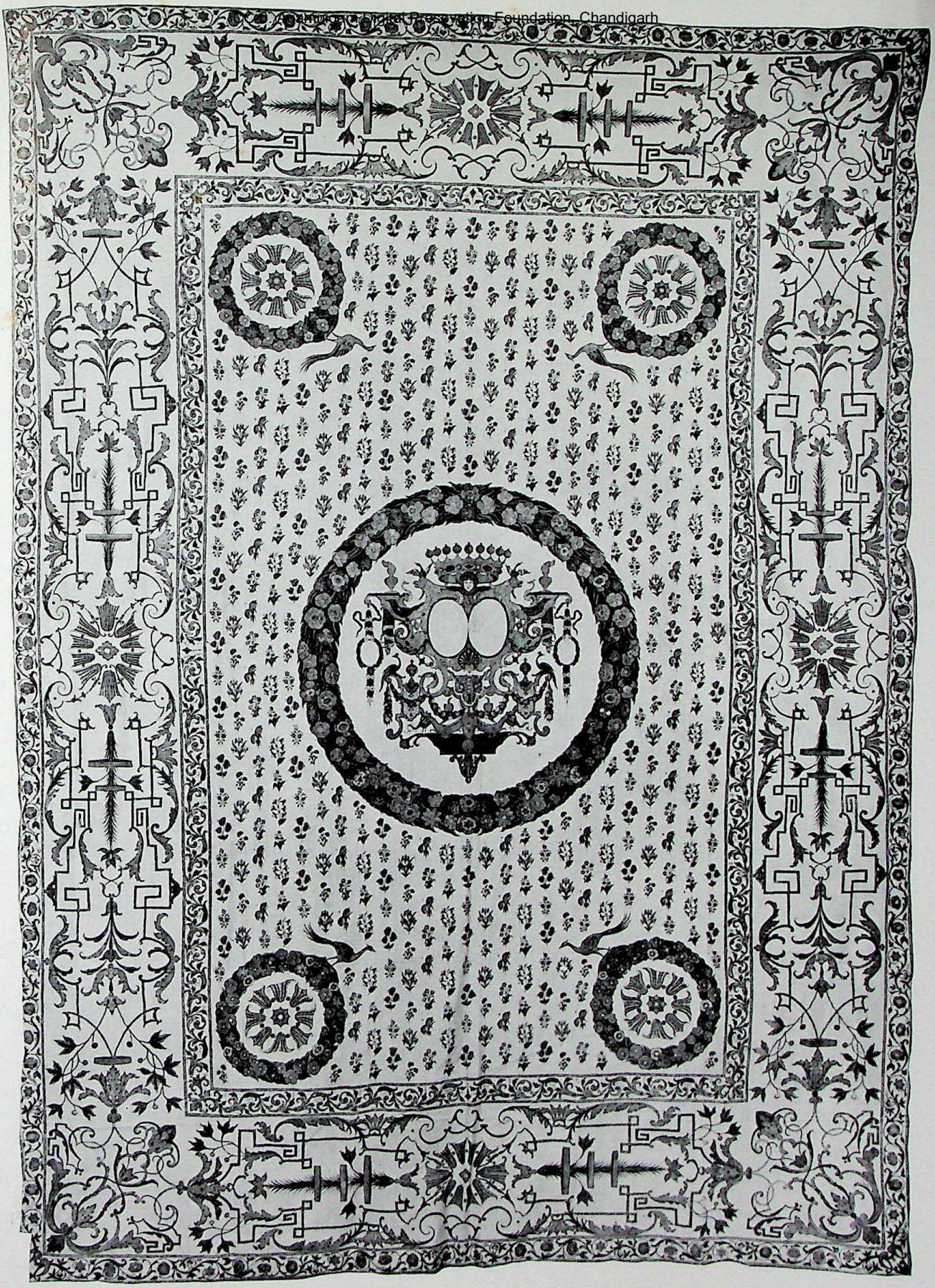


Plate 69. Cat. No. 69a. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

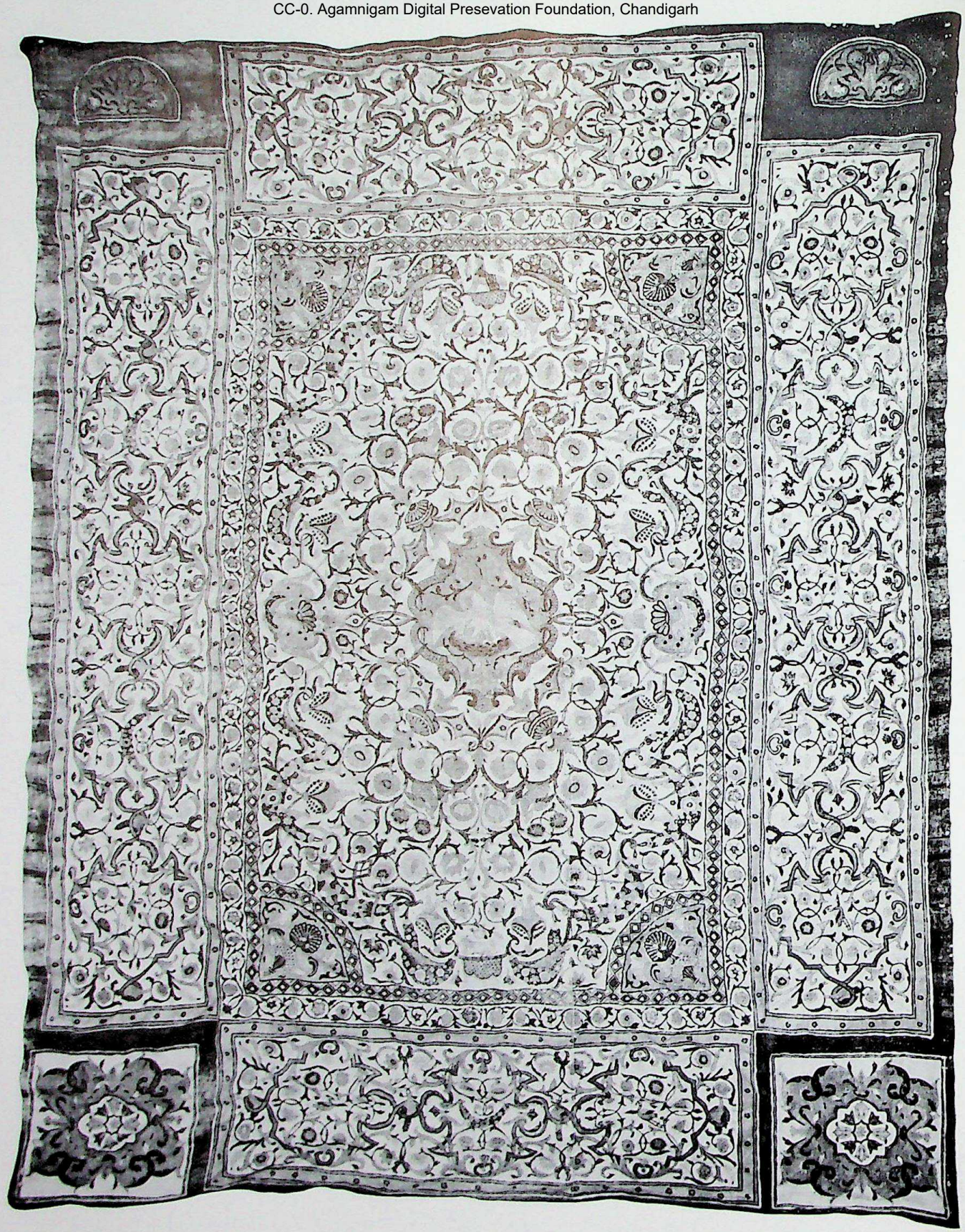


Plate 70. Cat. No. 69b. Bedspread. Coromandel Coast (southern region), about 1700

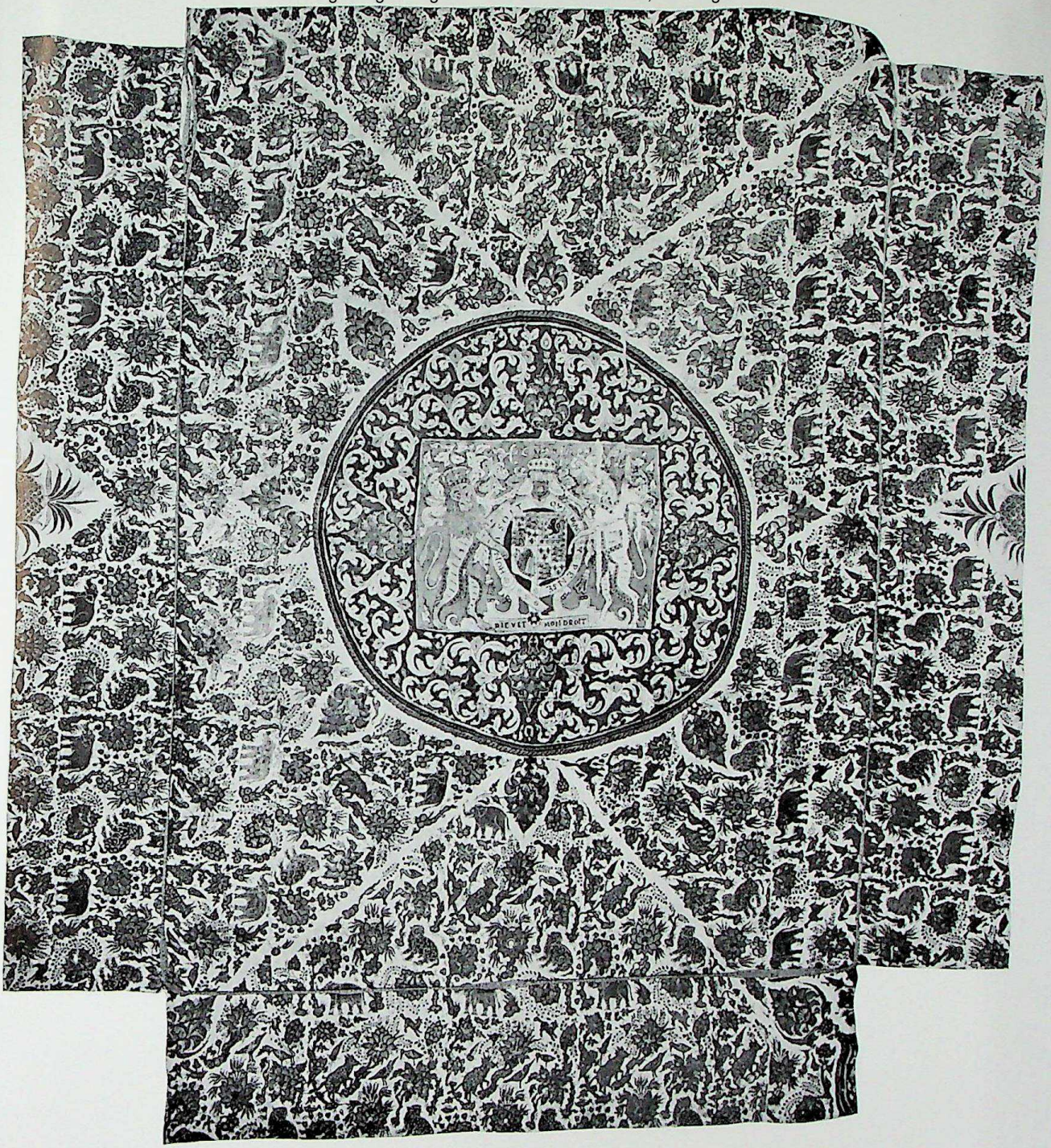
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 71. Cat. No. 72. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

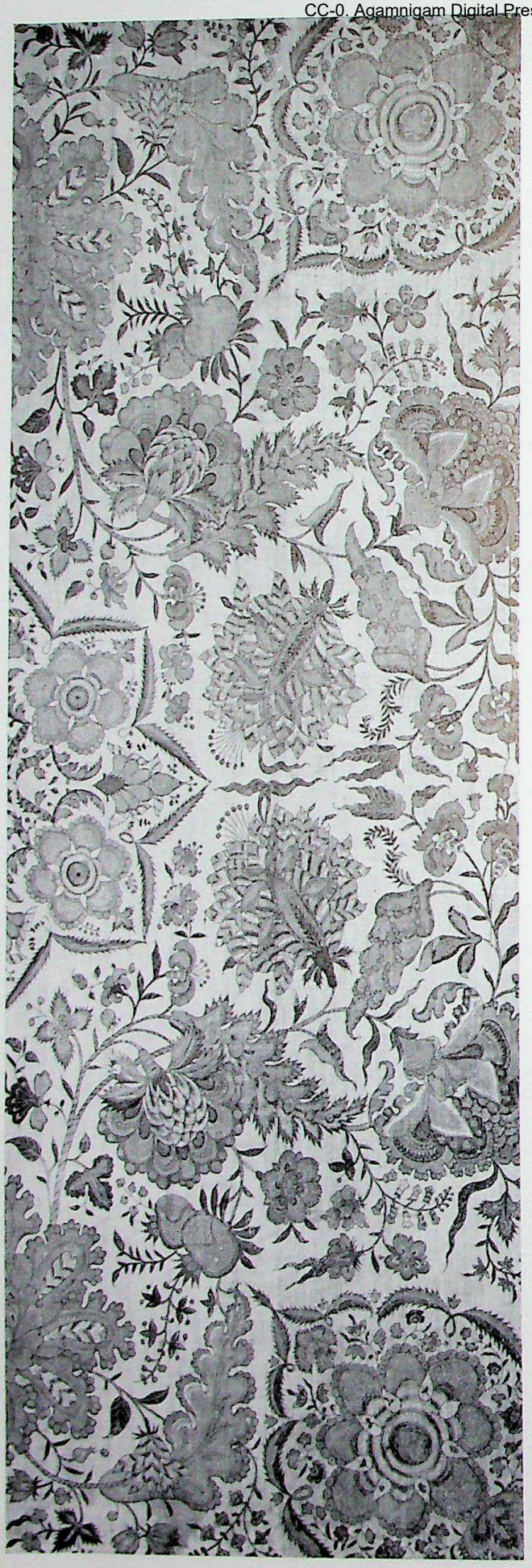
Plate 72

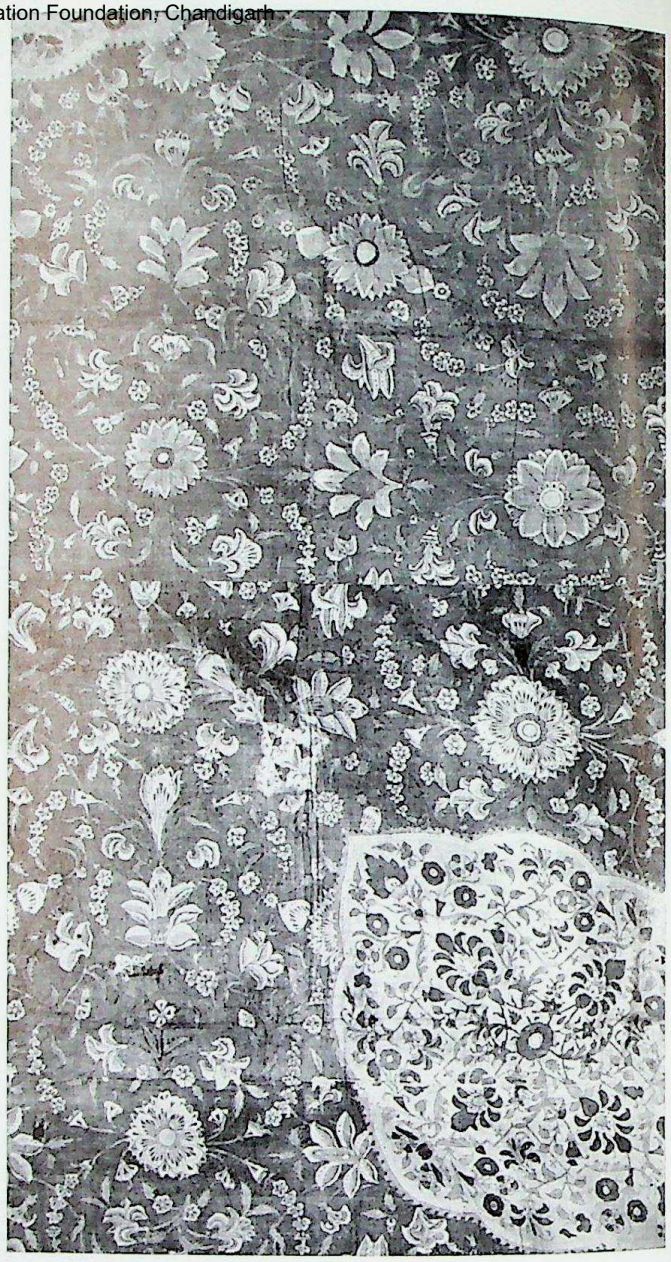
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 72. Cat. No. 73. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century
Above: Plate 73. Cat. No. 74. Bedspread. Provenance unknown, 17th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh





Left: Plate 74a. Cat. No. 75. Part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, first quarter
Above: Plate 74b. Cat. No. 76. Part of a Palampore. Probably Burhanpur, Western India, 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

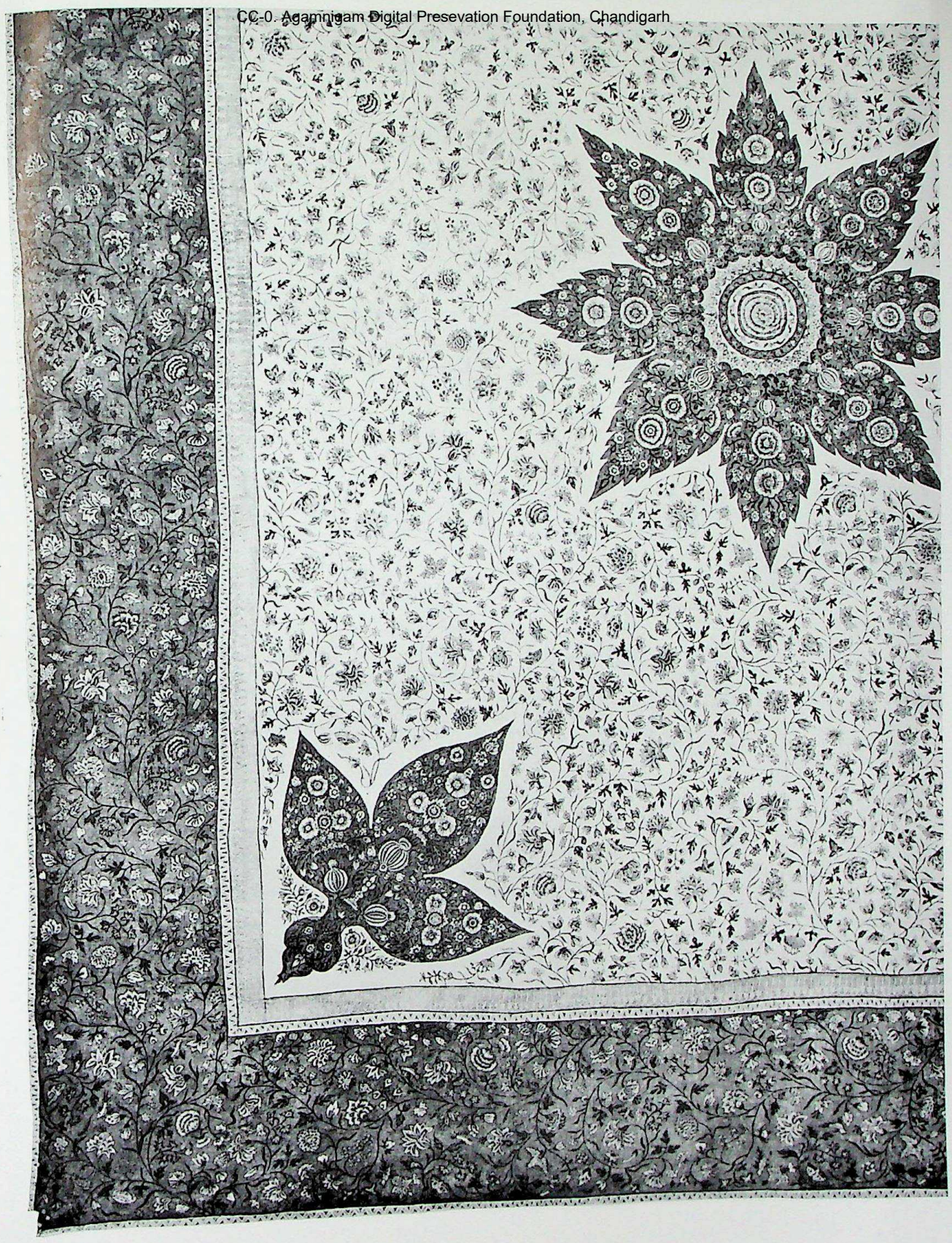
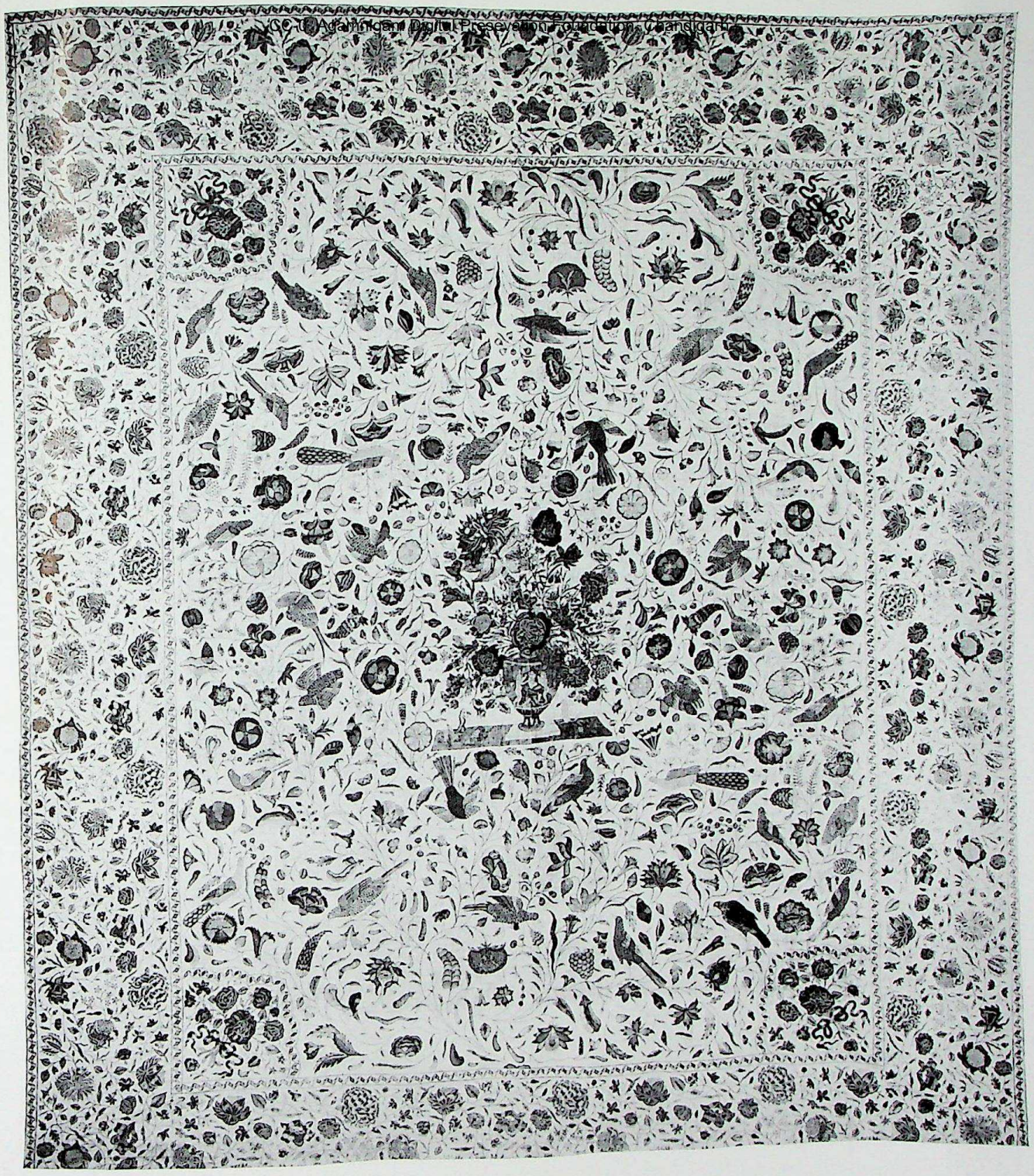


Plate 75. Cat. No. 77. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Aga Khan Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 76. Cat. No. 79. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 1730–40
Above: Plate 77. Cat. No. 80. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, second quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 78. Cat. No. 81. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), about 1740

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh.

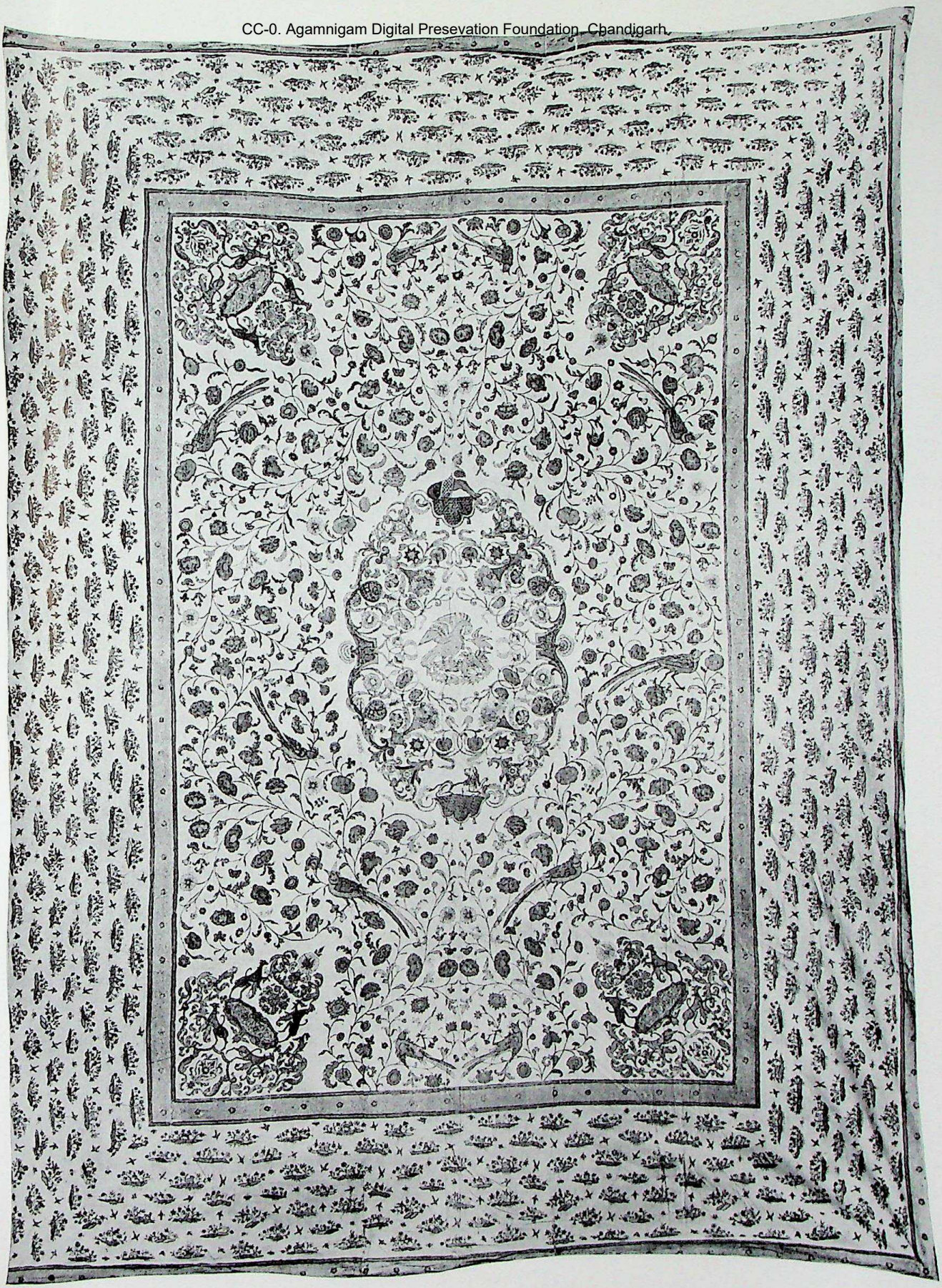
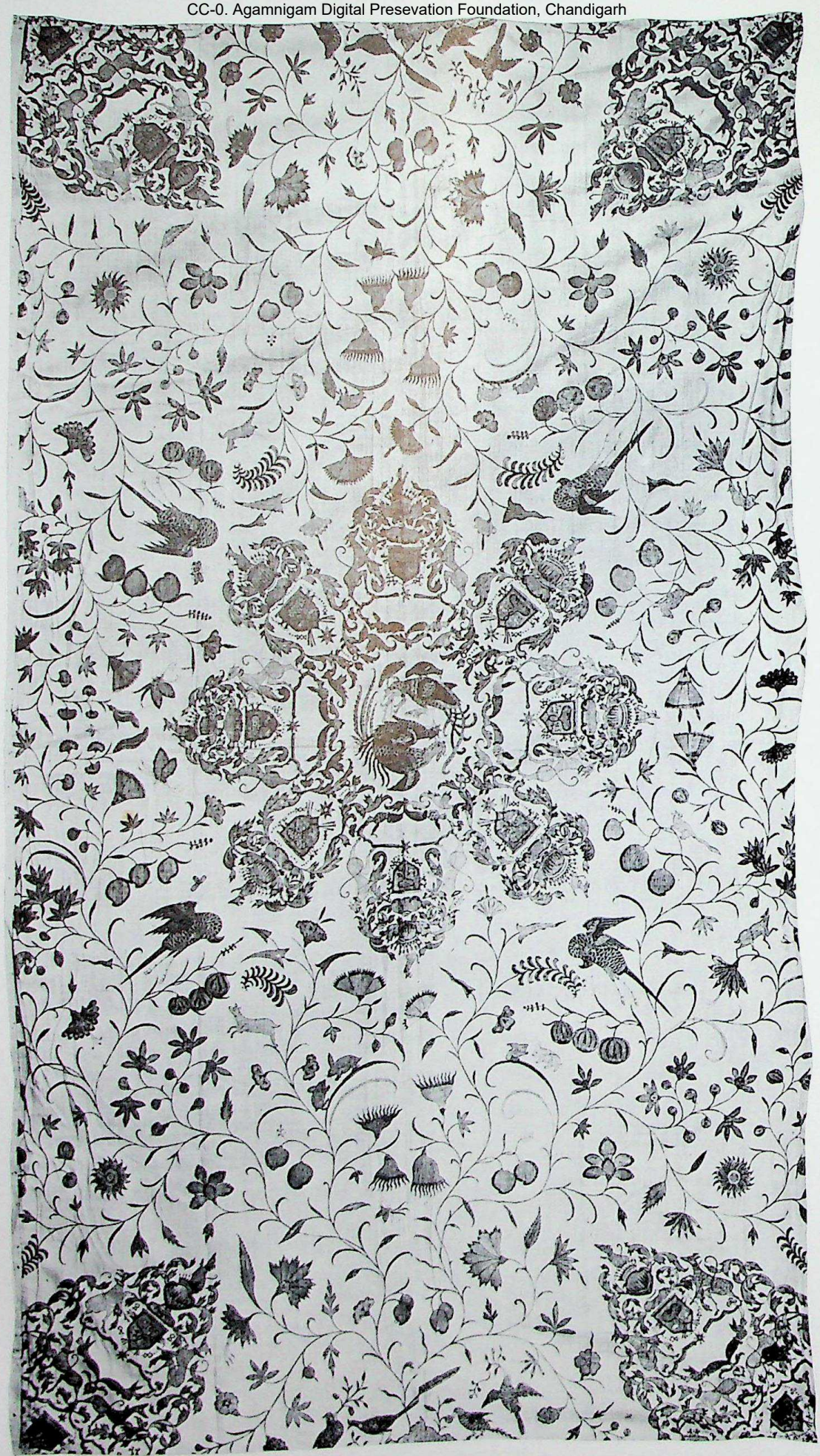
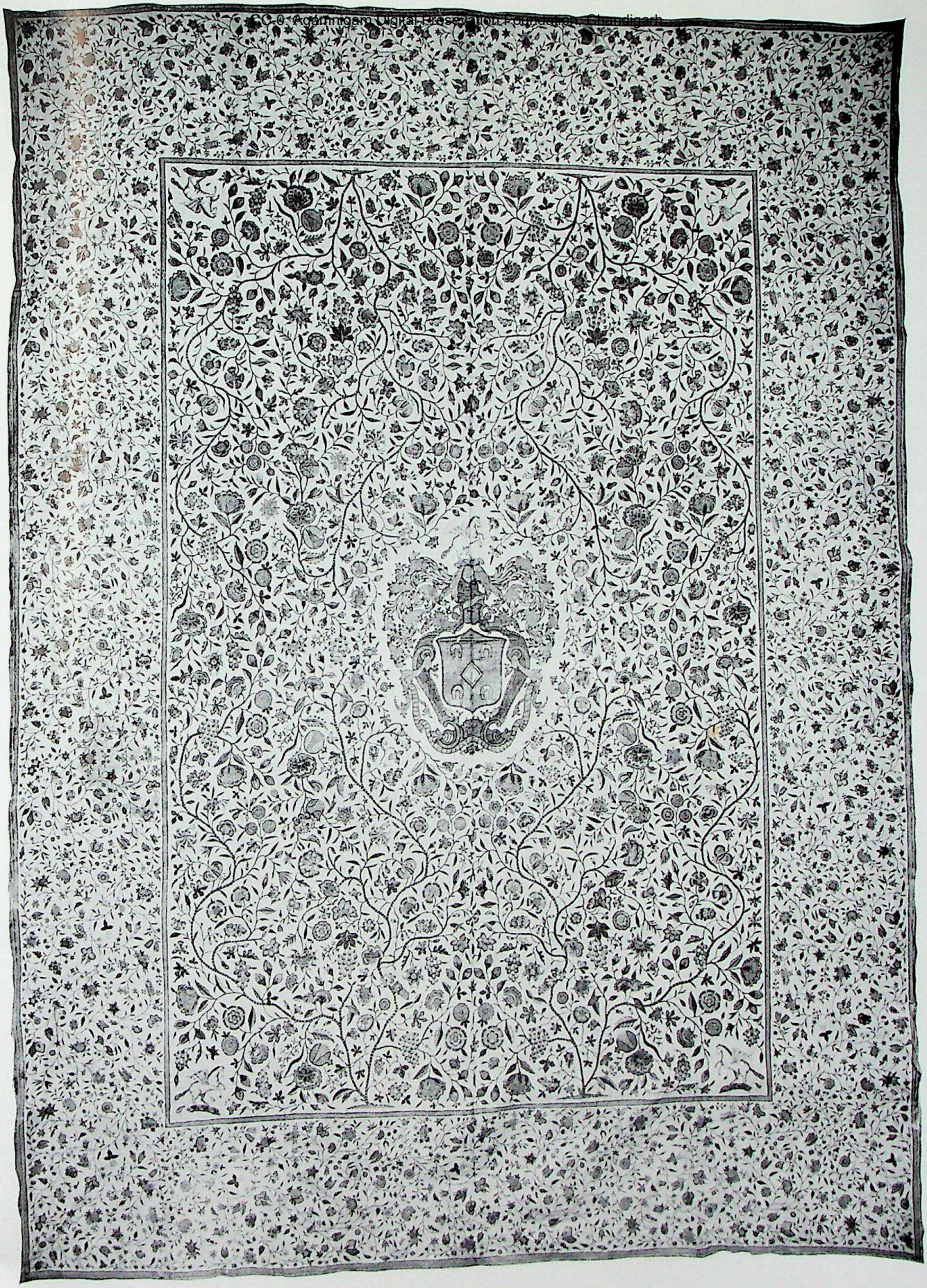


Plate 79. Cat. No. 82. Palampore. Coromandel Coast(southern region), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 80. Cat. No. 83. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half
Above: Plate 81. Cat. No. 84. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

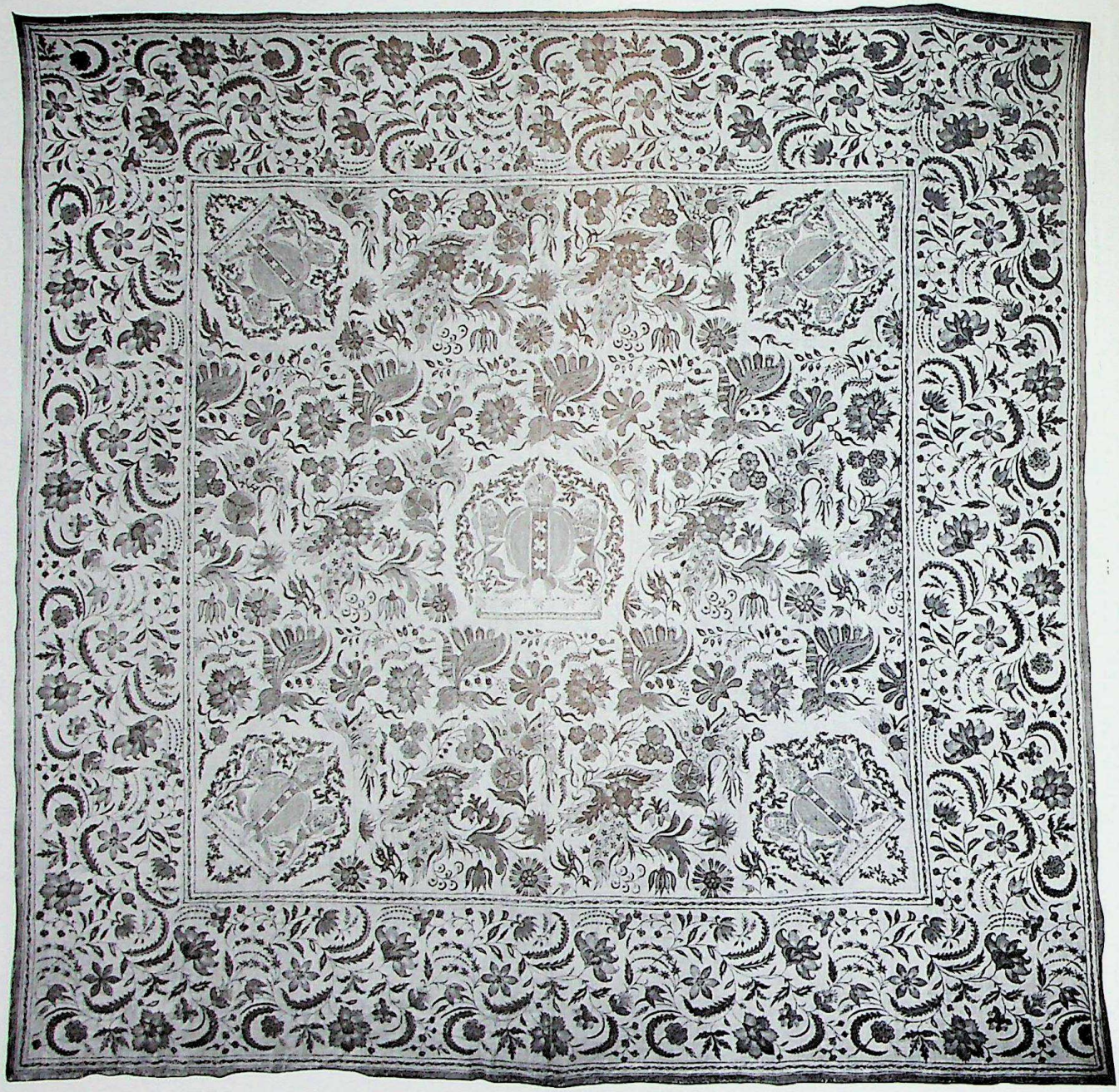


Plate 82. Cat. No. 85. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (Negapatam region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

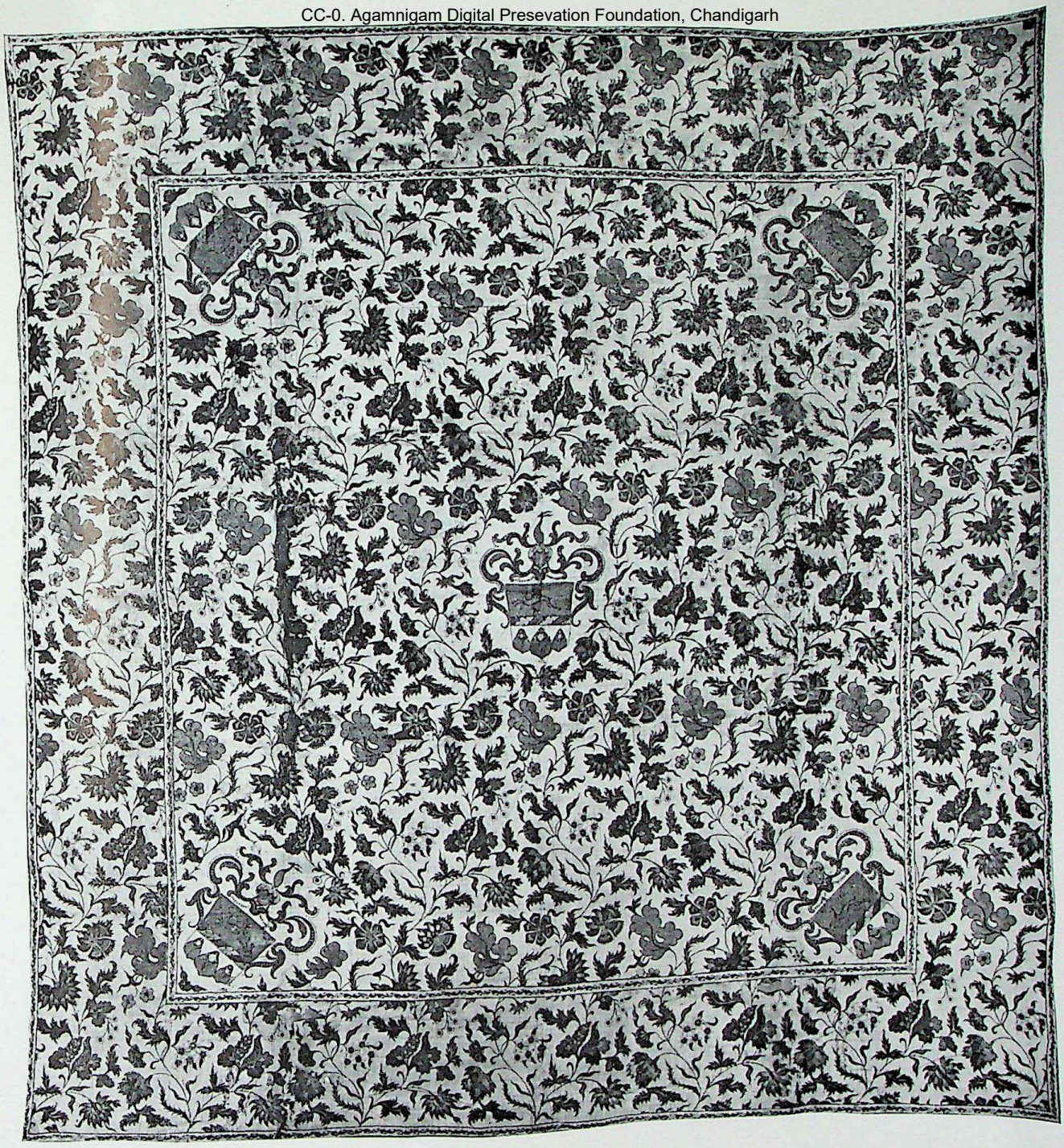


Plate 83. Cat. No. 86. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (Negapatam region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

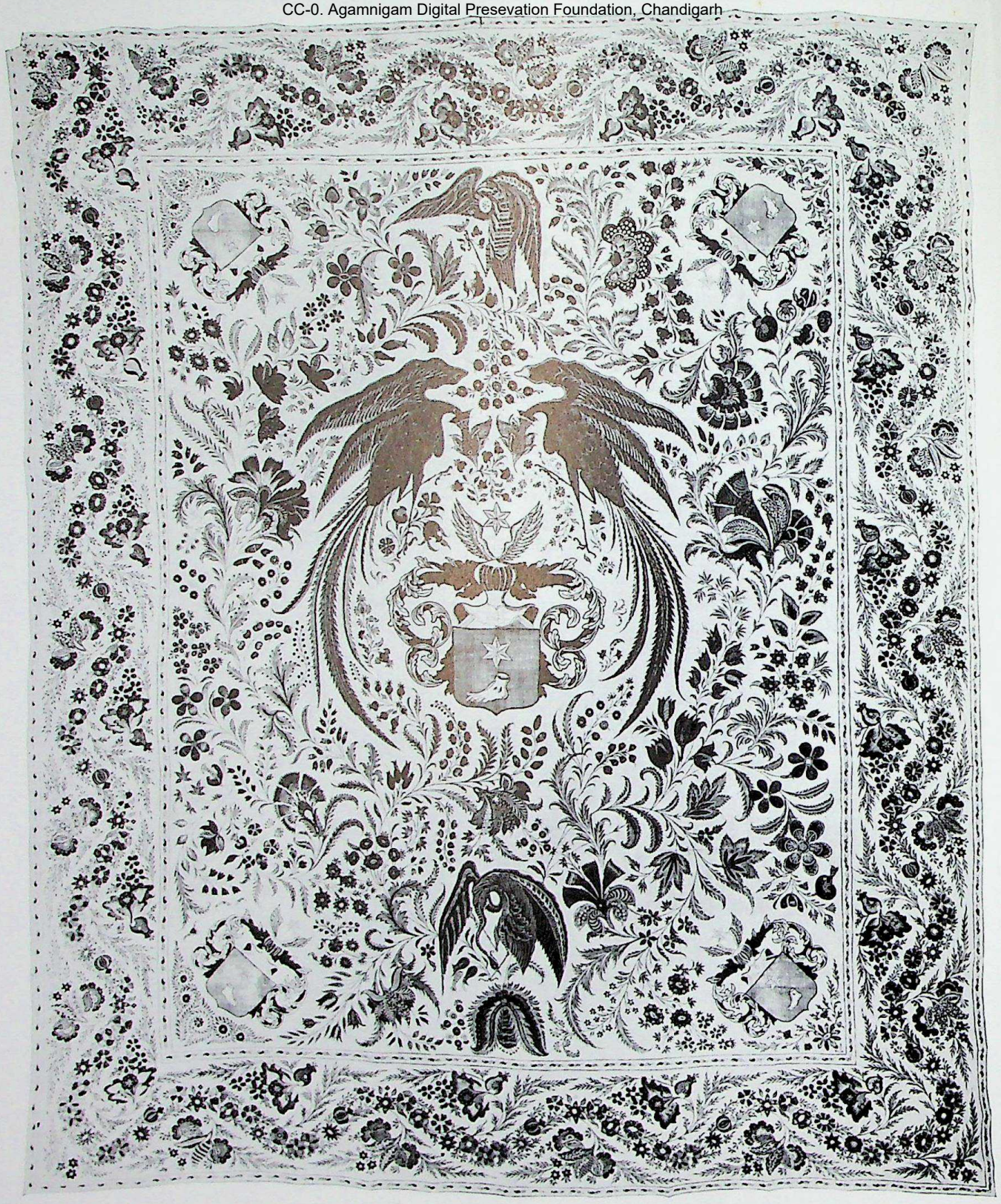
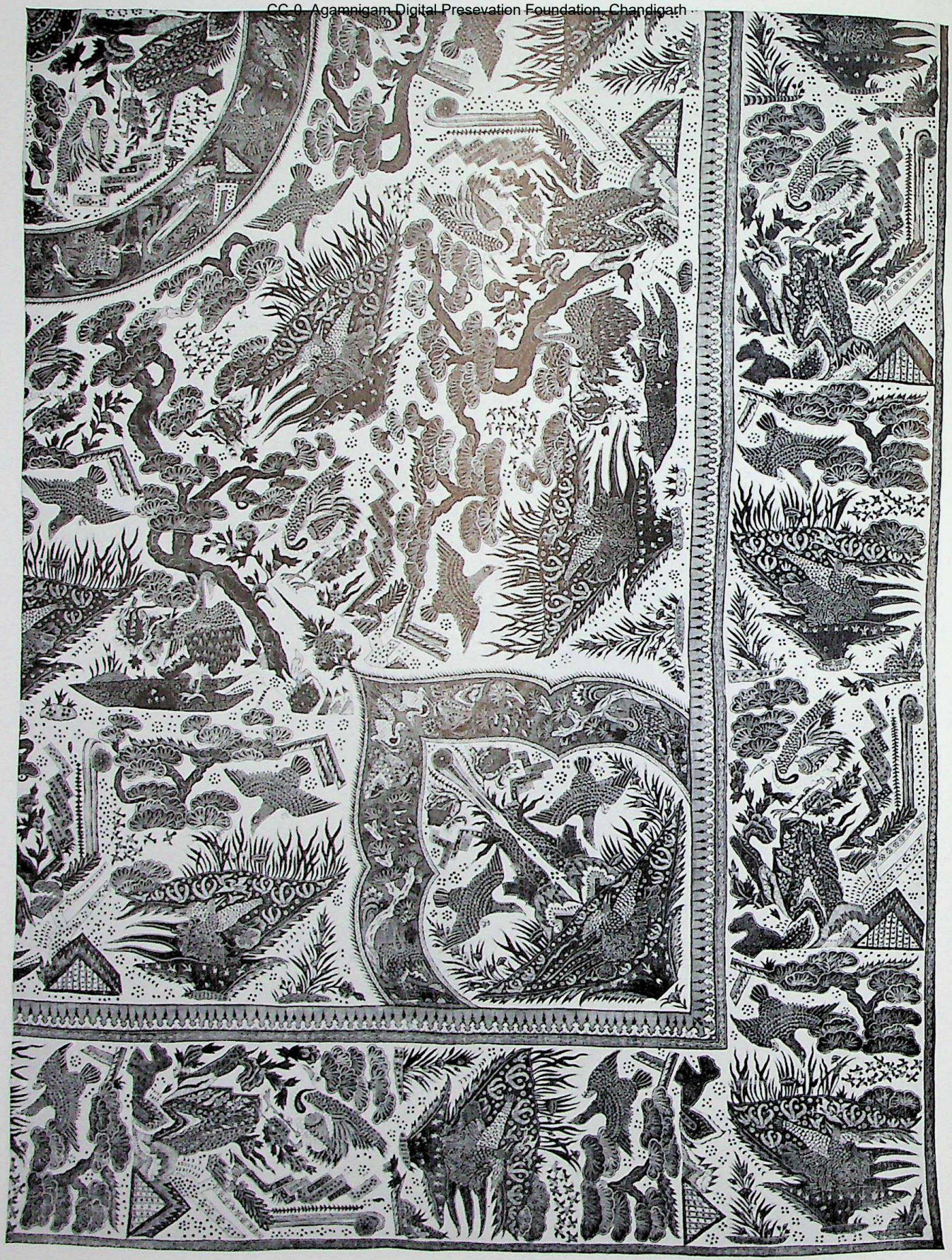


Plate 84. Cat. No. 87. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (Negapatam region), about 1730

Plate 85. Cat. No. 88. Palampore. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 86. Cat. No. 90. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century
Right: Plate 87. Cat. No. 91. Part of a Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century
Plate 88. Cat. No. 92. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), mid-18th century
Plate 89. Cat. No. 93. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 87

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

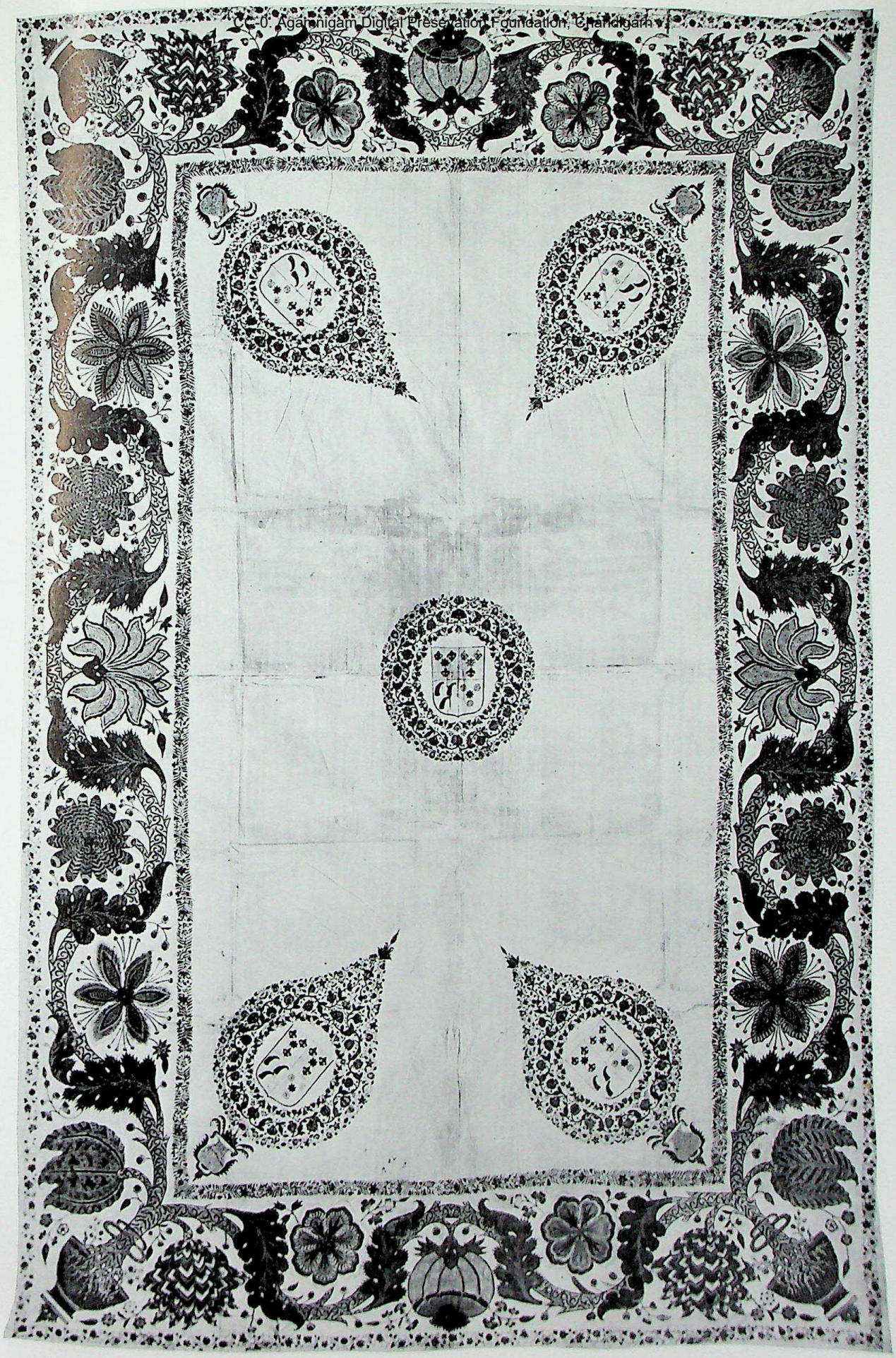


Plate 89

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 90. Cat. No. 94. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), mid-18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

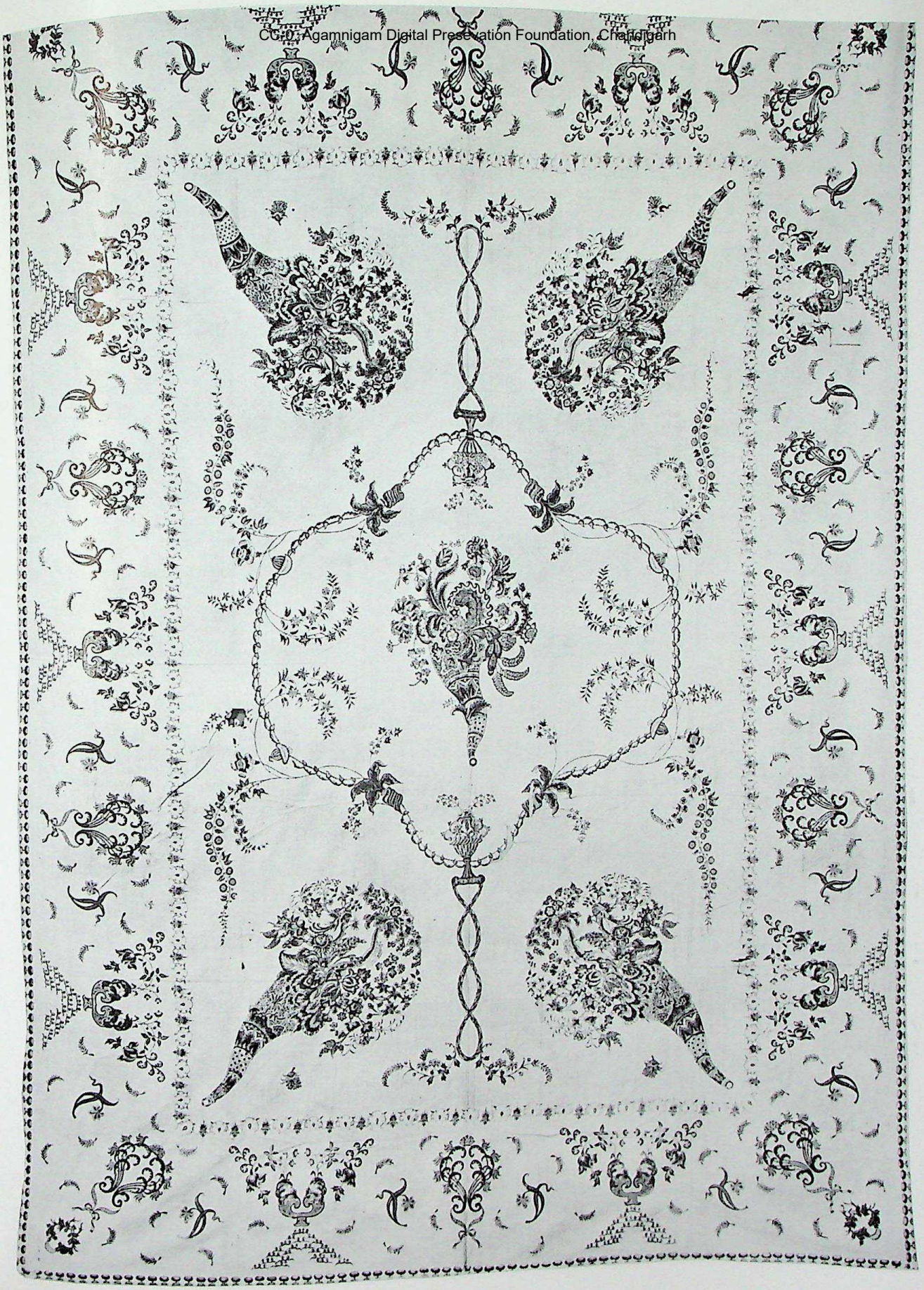
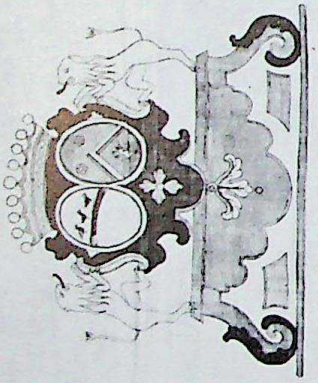
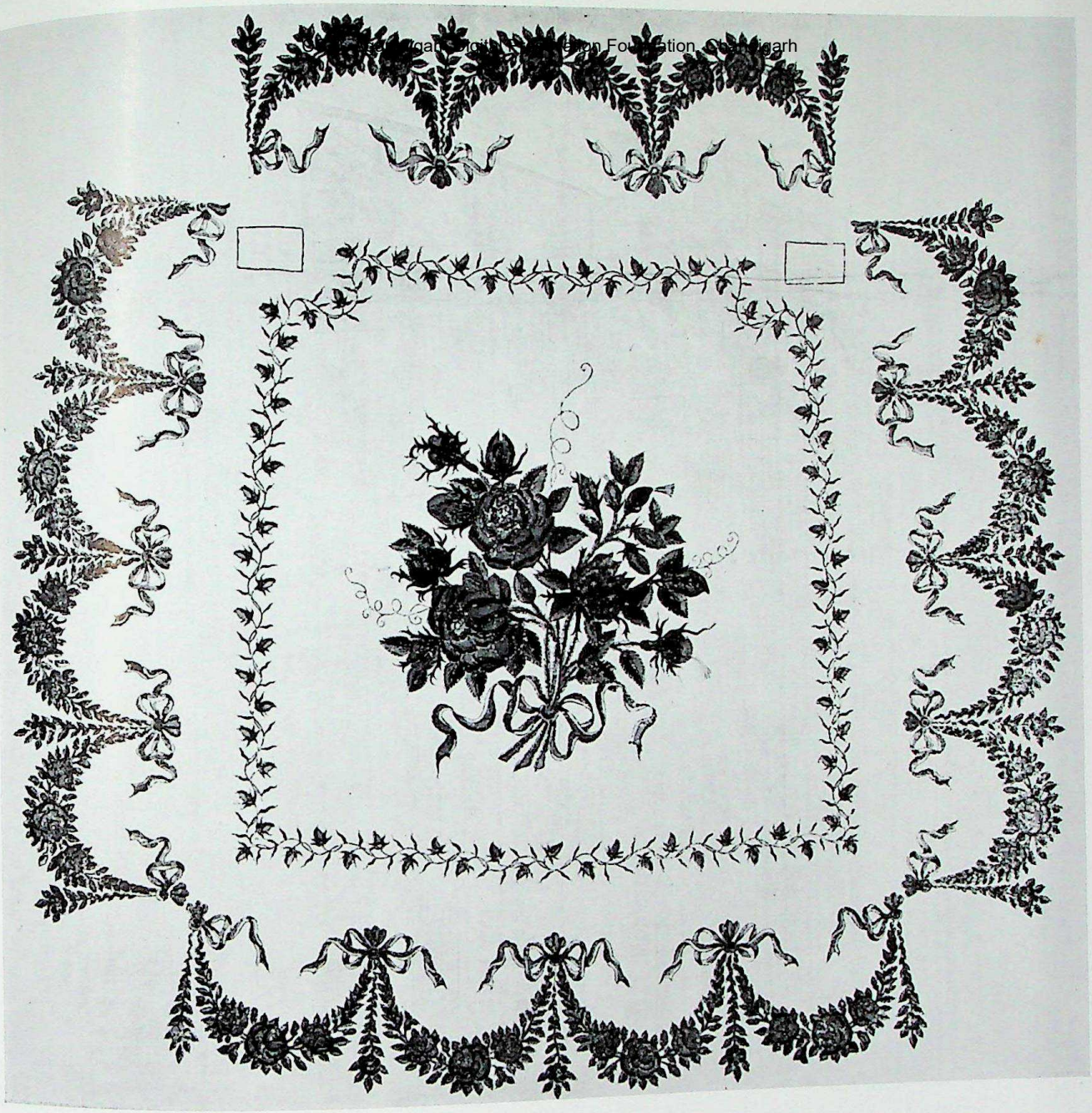


Plate 91. Cat. No. 95. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri Foundation, Chandigarh



Left: Plate 92. Cat. No. 98. Napkin. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter
Above: Plate 93. Cat. No. 99. Chair-seat cover. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), about 1800

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 94. Cat. No. 100. Handkerchief. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

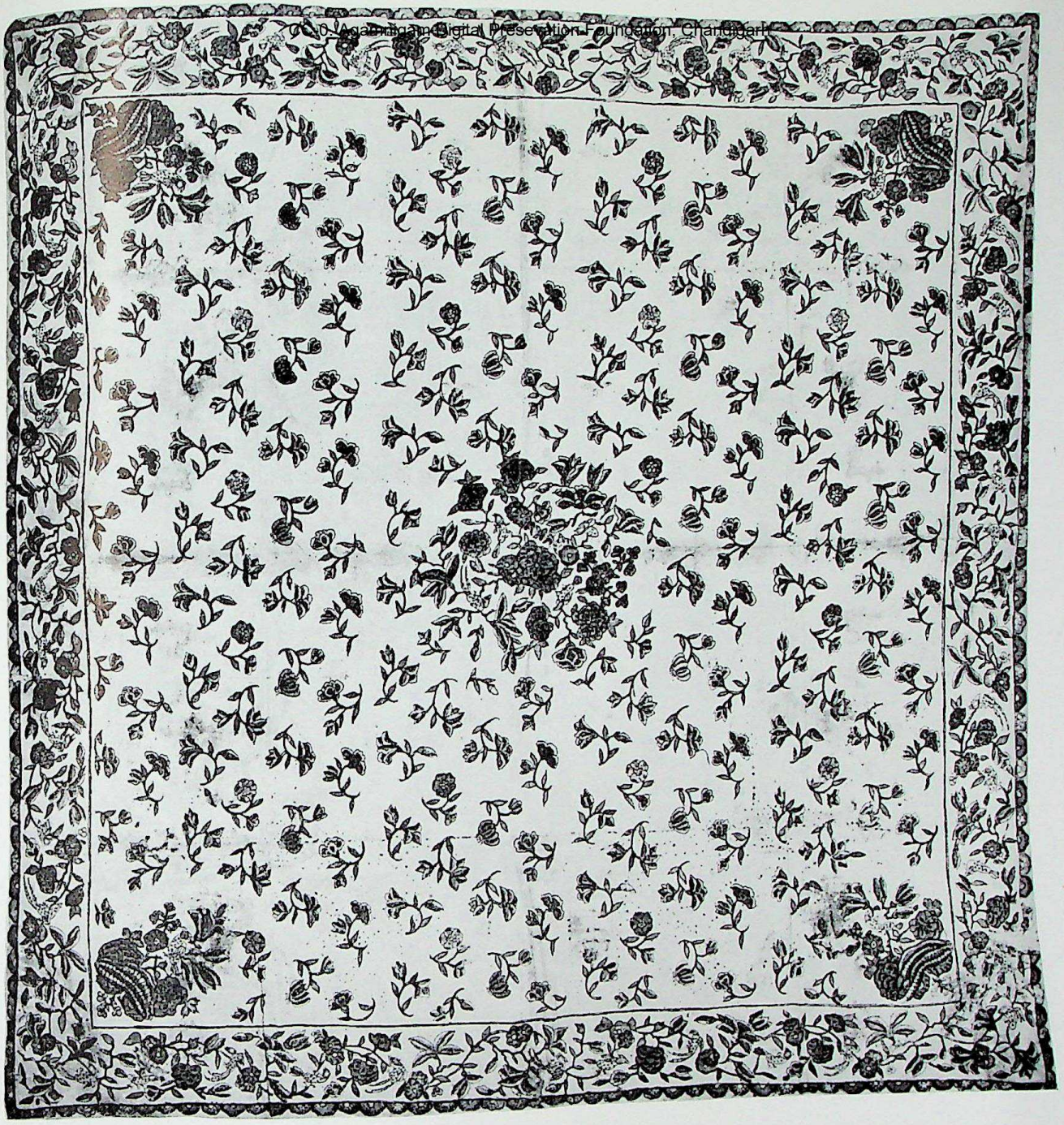


Plate 95. Cat. No. 101. Handkerchief. Provenance uncertain, 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 96. Cat. No. 102. Man's morning gown. Coromandel Coast (northern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Kapinjgam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

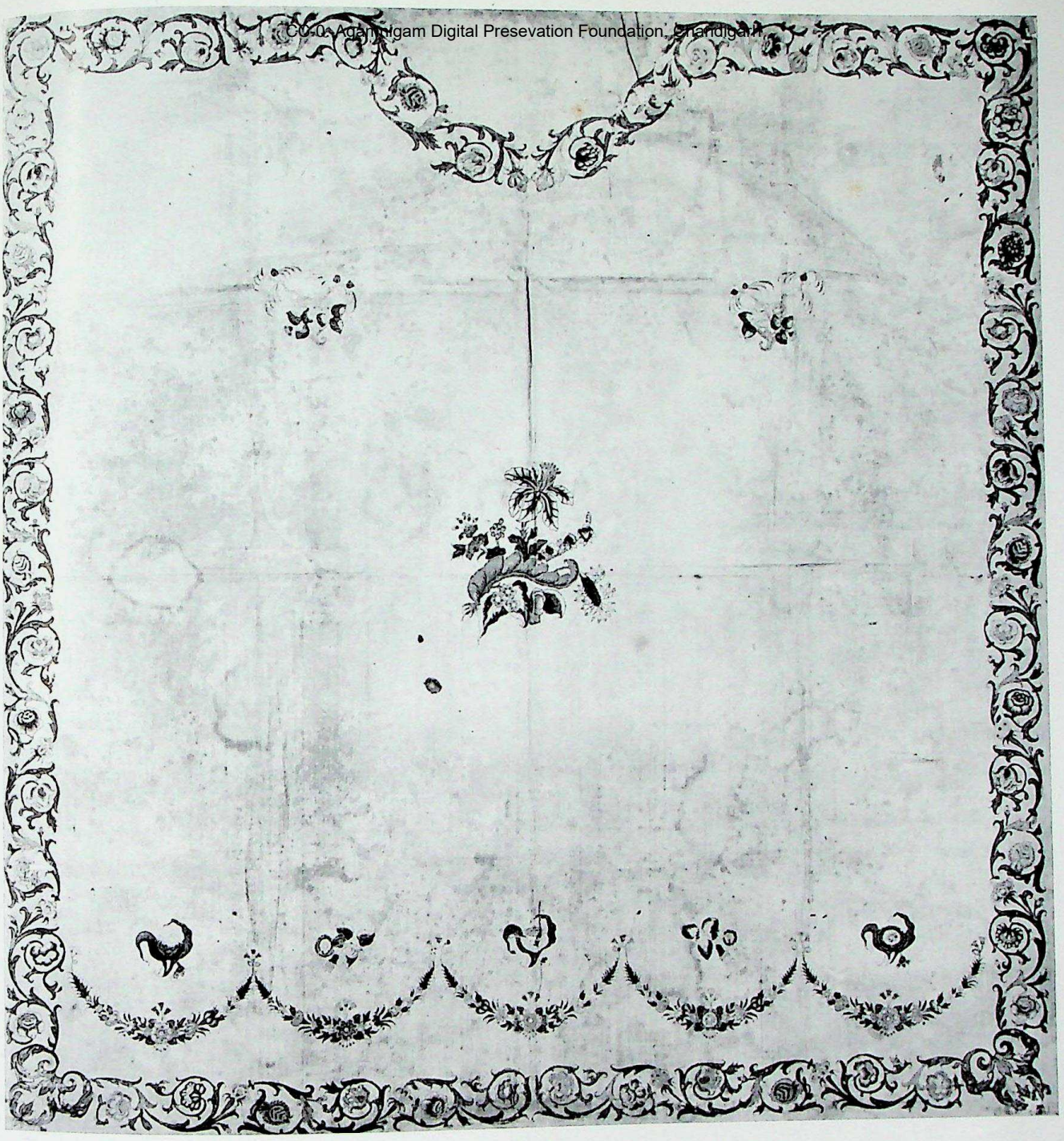
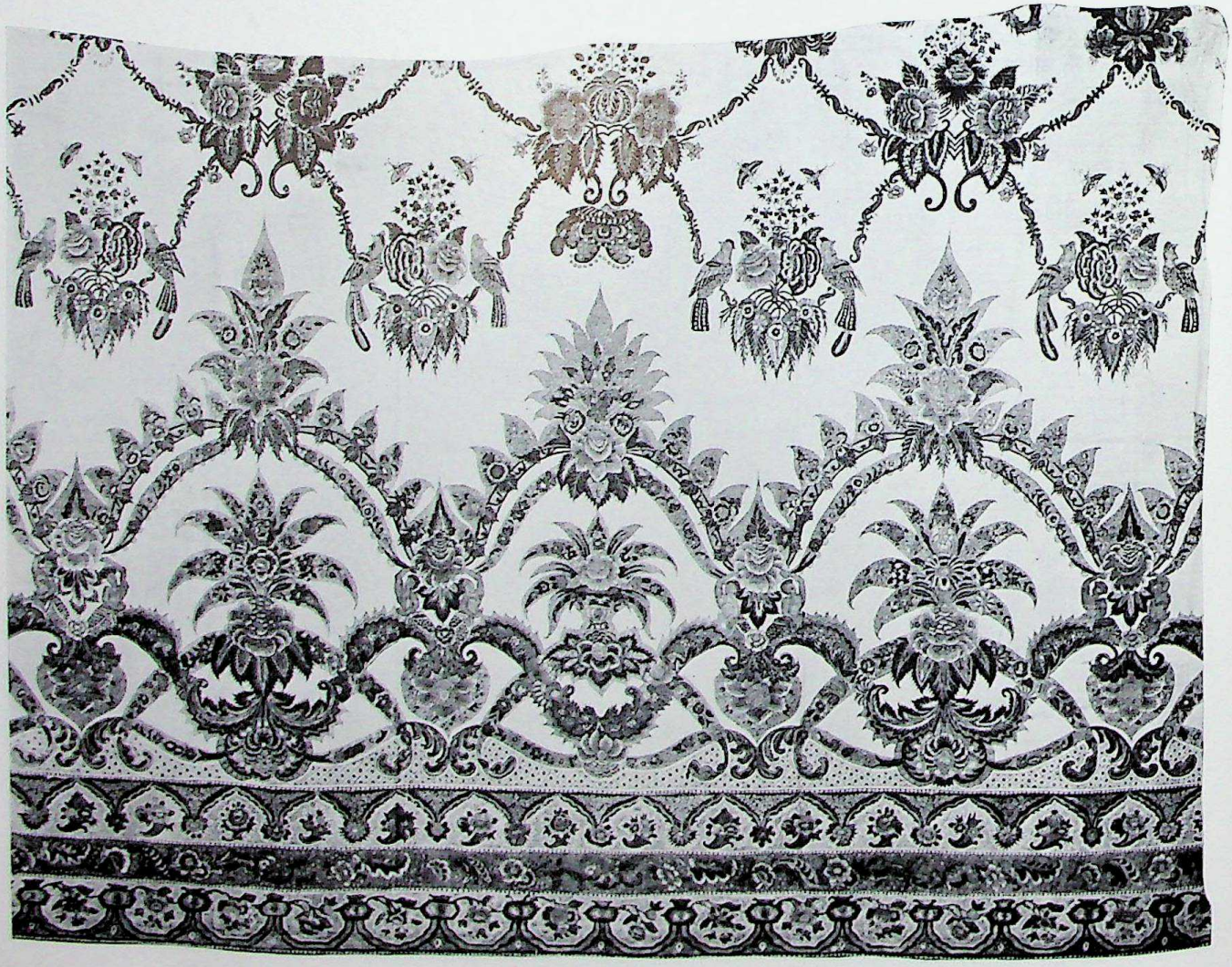


Plate 97. Cat. No. 103. Shaving cloth. Coromandel Coast (southern region), mid-18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 98a. Cat. No. 105. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), mid-18th century
Below: Plate 98b. Cat. No. 106. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (region uncertain), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

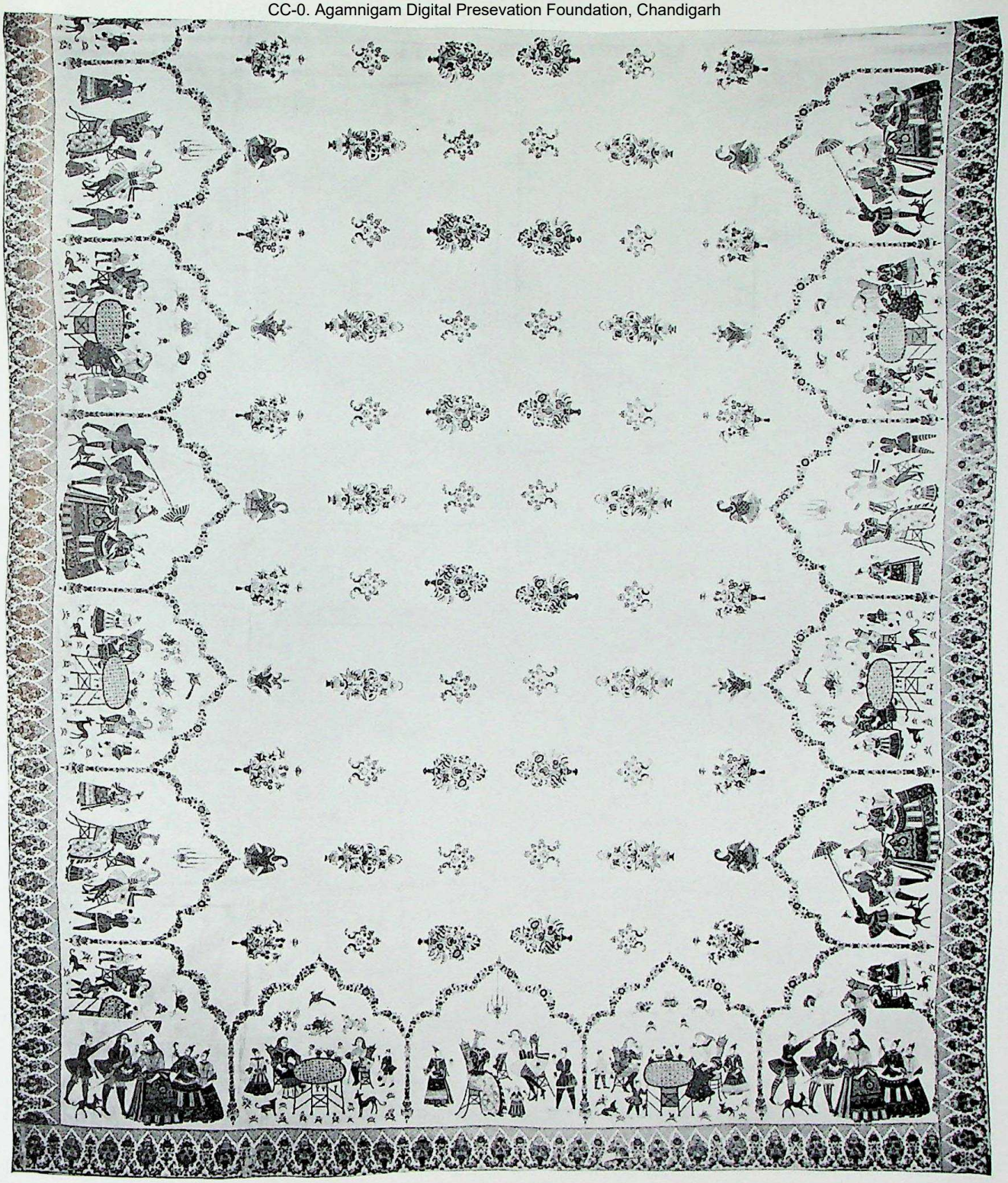


Plate 99. Cat. No. 108. Bedspread made out of a petticoat. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

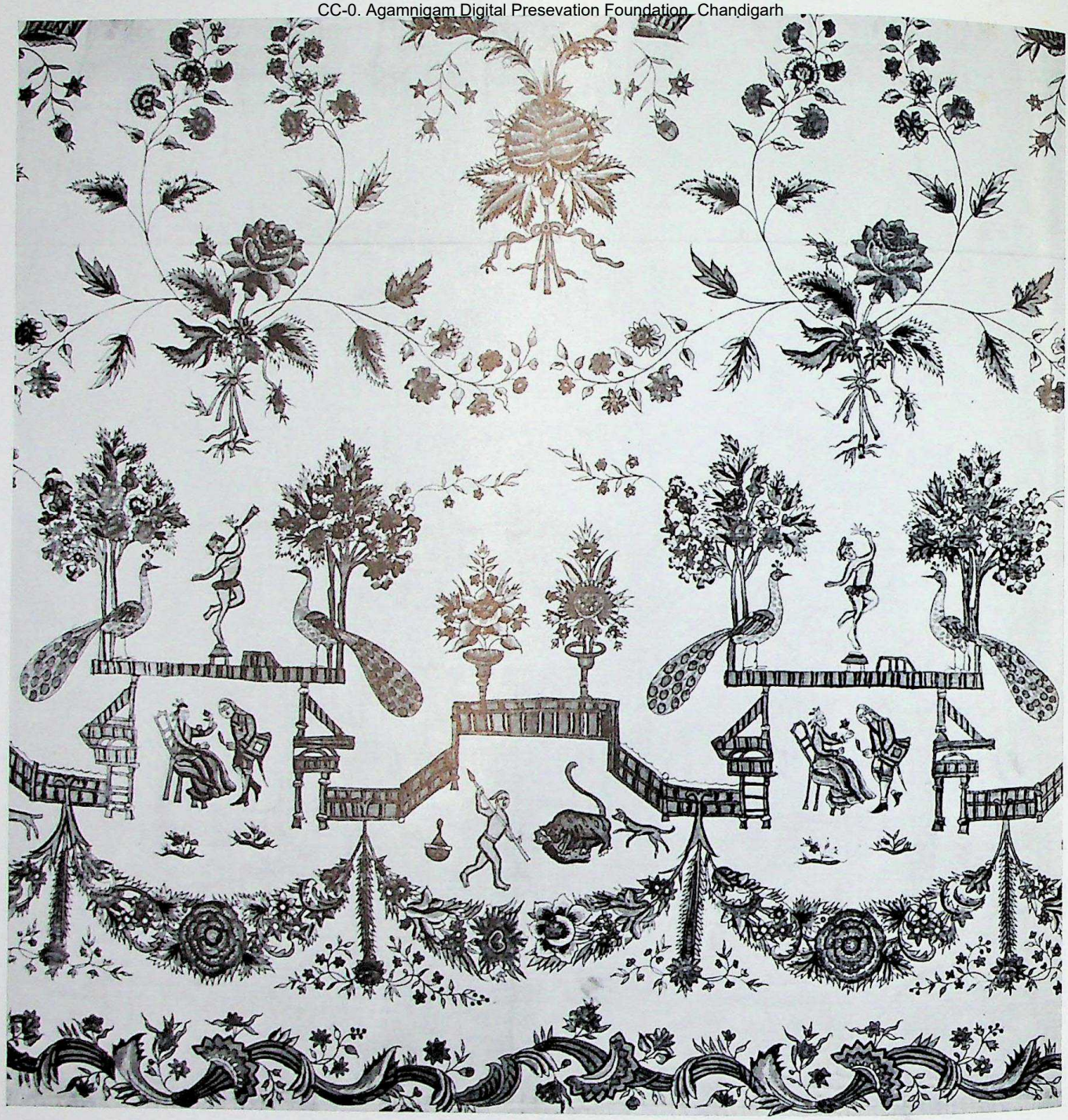


Plate 100. Cat. No. 109. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 101. Cat. No. 110. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 102. Cat. No. 111. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 103a. Cat. No. 112. Petticoat material. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

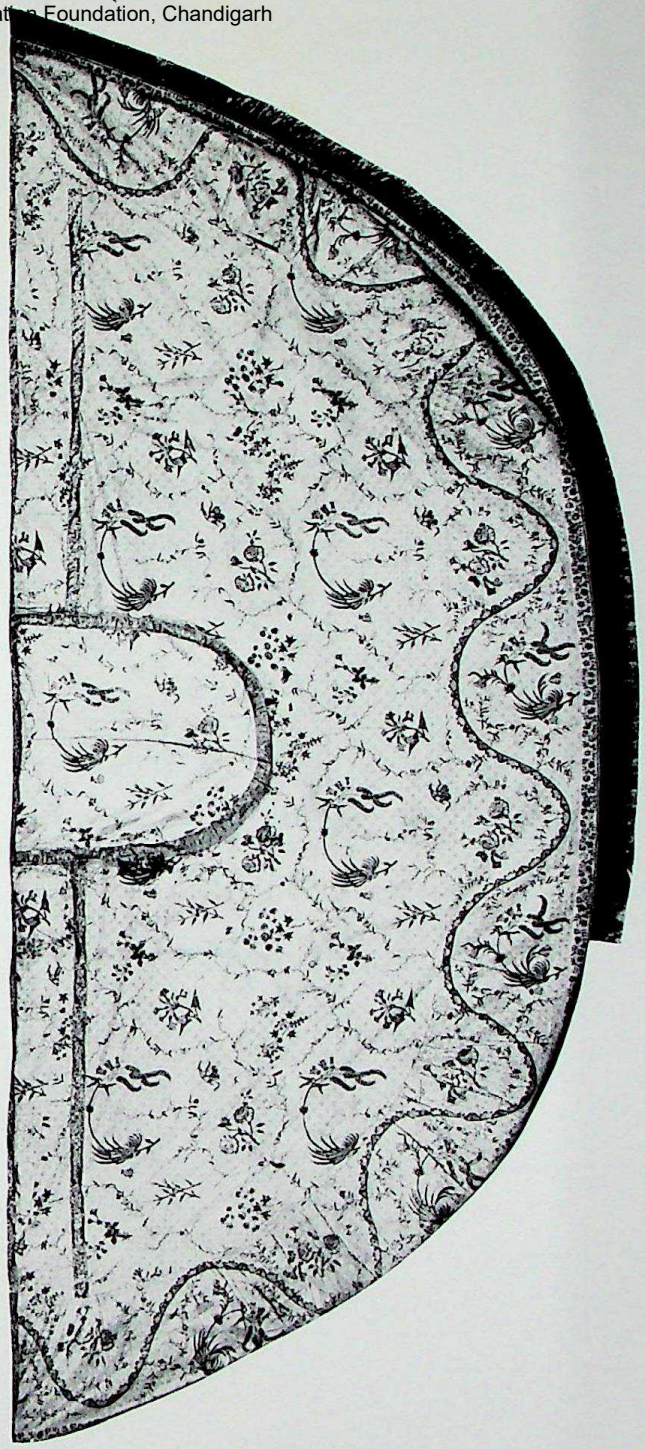


Plate 103b. Cat. No. 114. Cope. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 104. Cat. No. 116. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second half

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Plate 105. Cat. No. 117. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, last quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

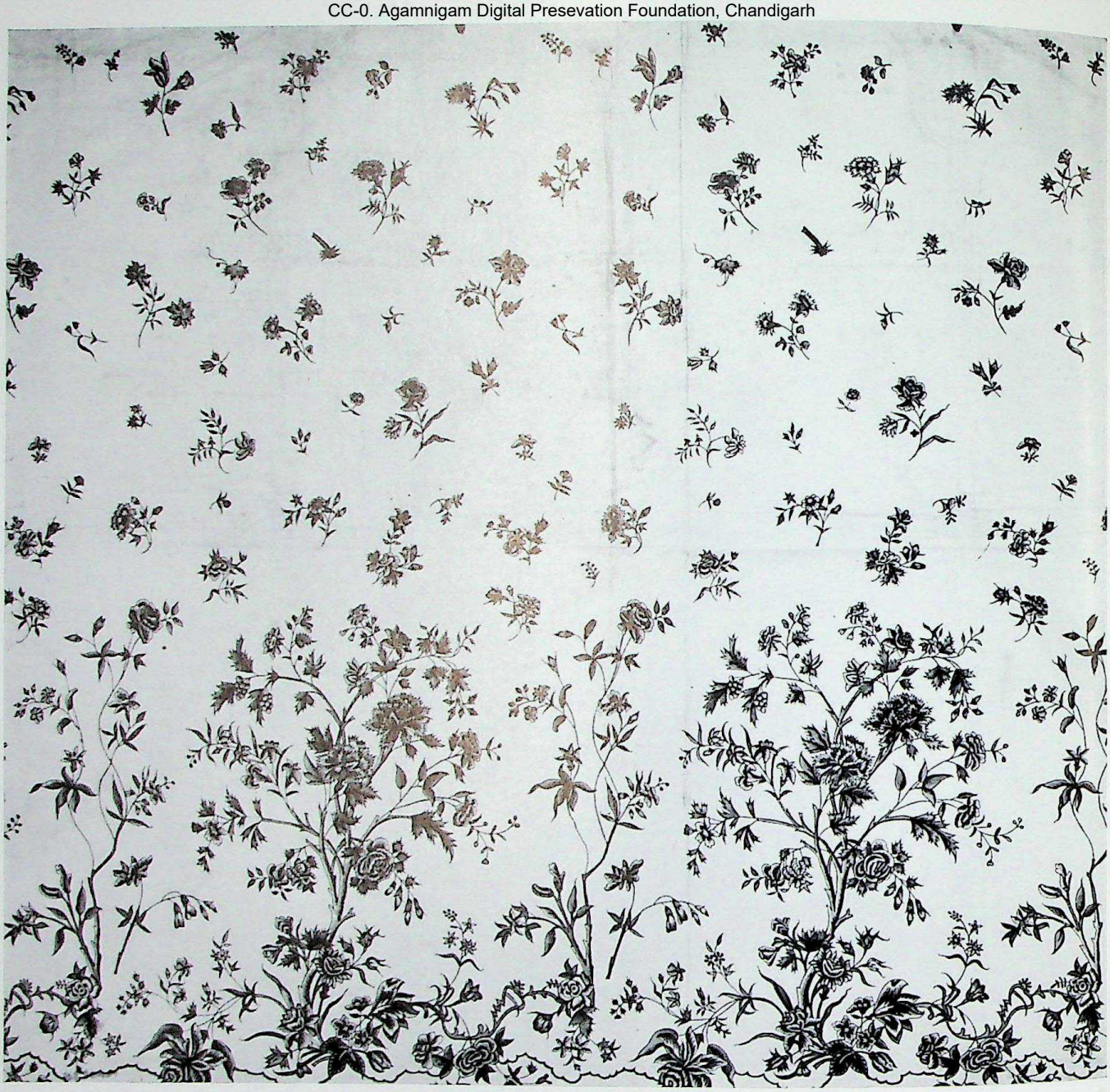

Plate 106. Cat. No. 119. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 107. Cat. No. 120. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, second half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

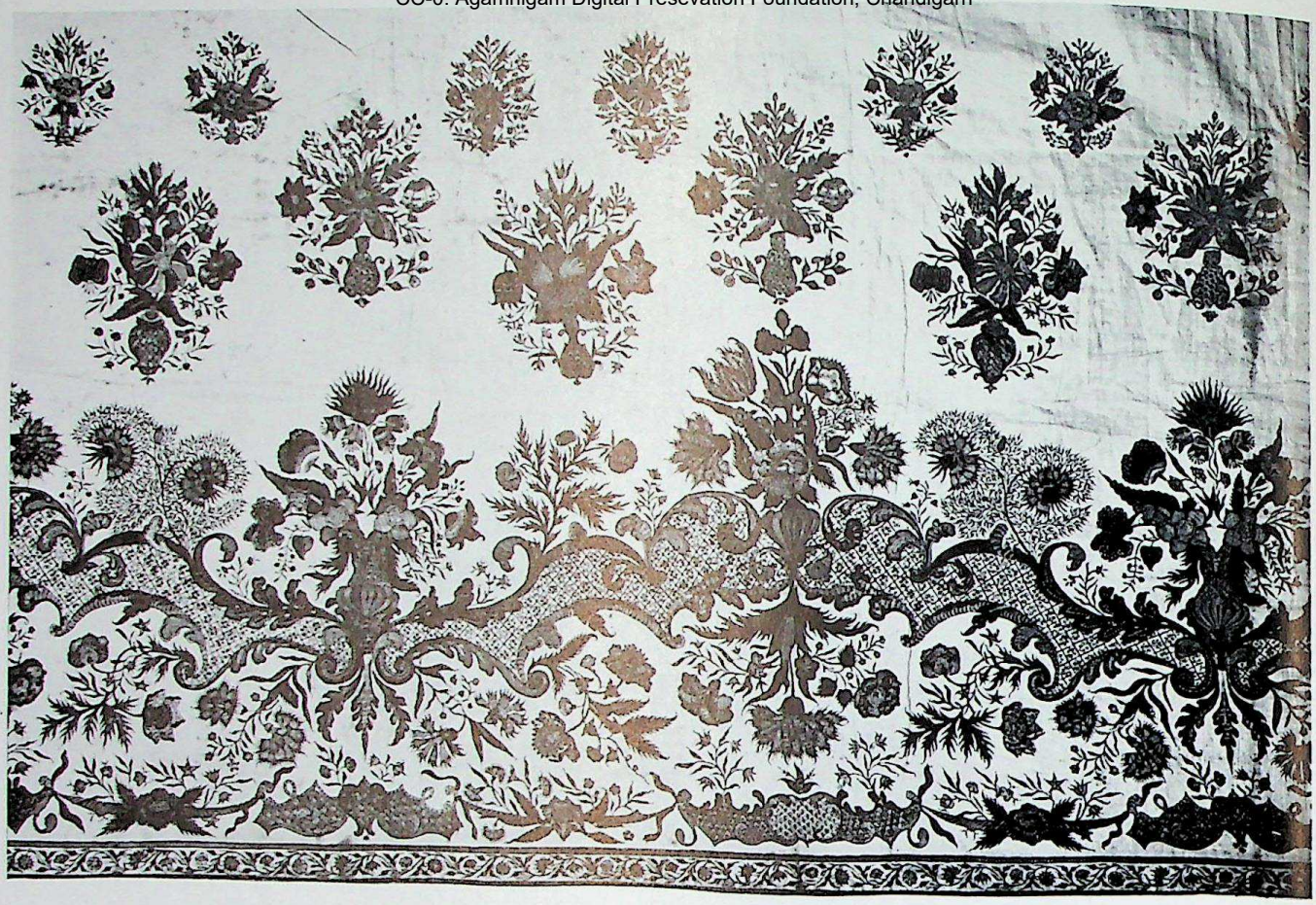

Plate 108. Cat. No. 121. Petticoat. Probably Western India, mid-18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 109. Cat. No. 122. Gown. Coromandel Coast. The material 18th century, first quarter; tailored in late 18th century

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Plate 110. Cat. No. 123. Facing of hat brim. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, first quarter

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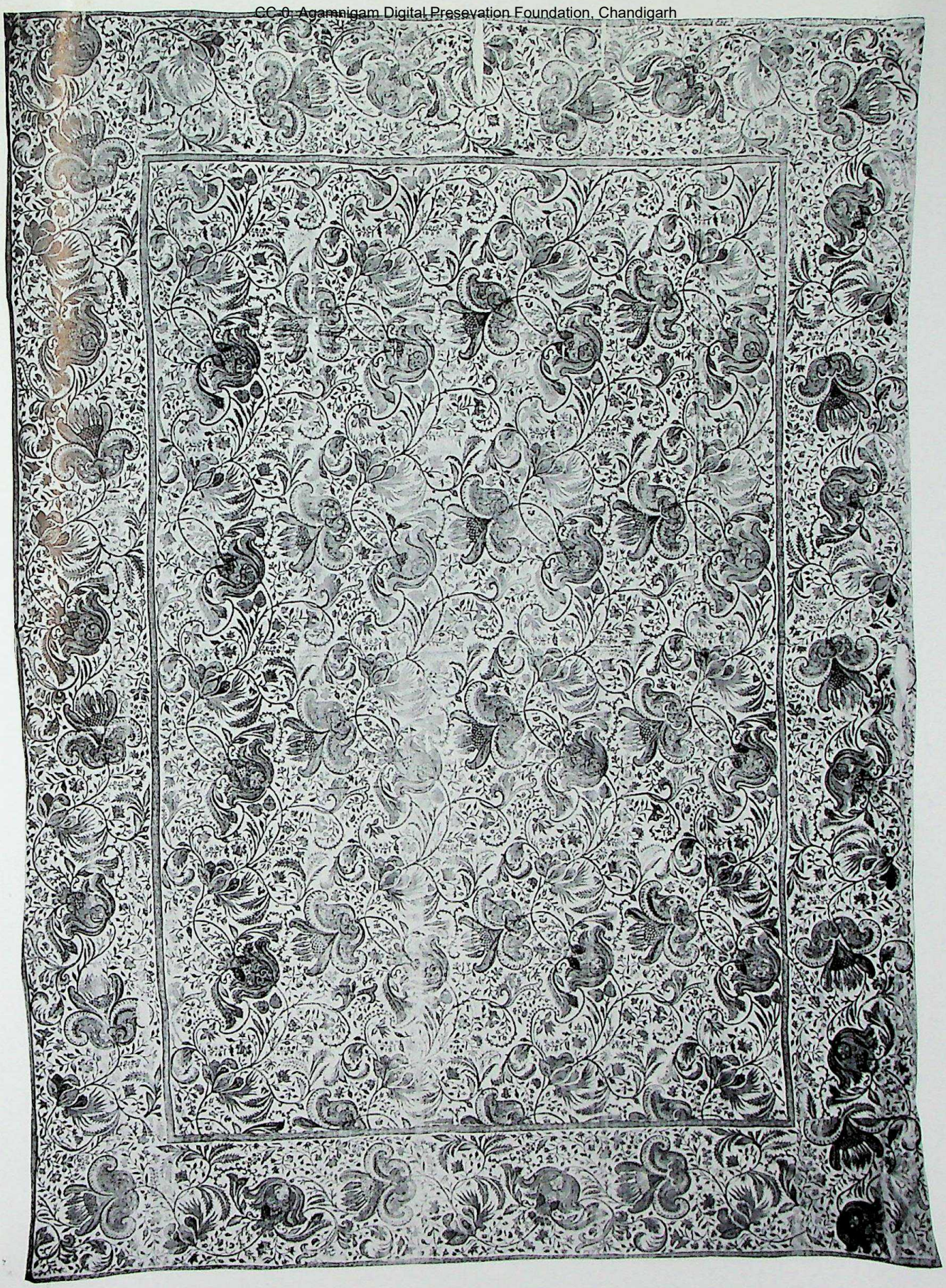
Plate 111. Cat. No. 125. Fragment. Coromandel Coast, 1725–30

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 112. Cat. No. 126. Yardage. Coromandel Coast, 1720–40

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 113. Cat. No. 127. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter
Over page: Plate 114. Cat. No. 128. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half
Plate 115. Cat. No. 129. Hanging. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

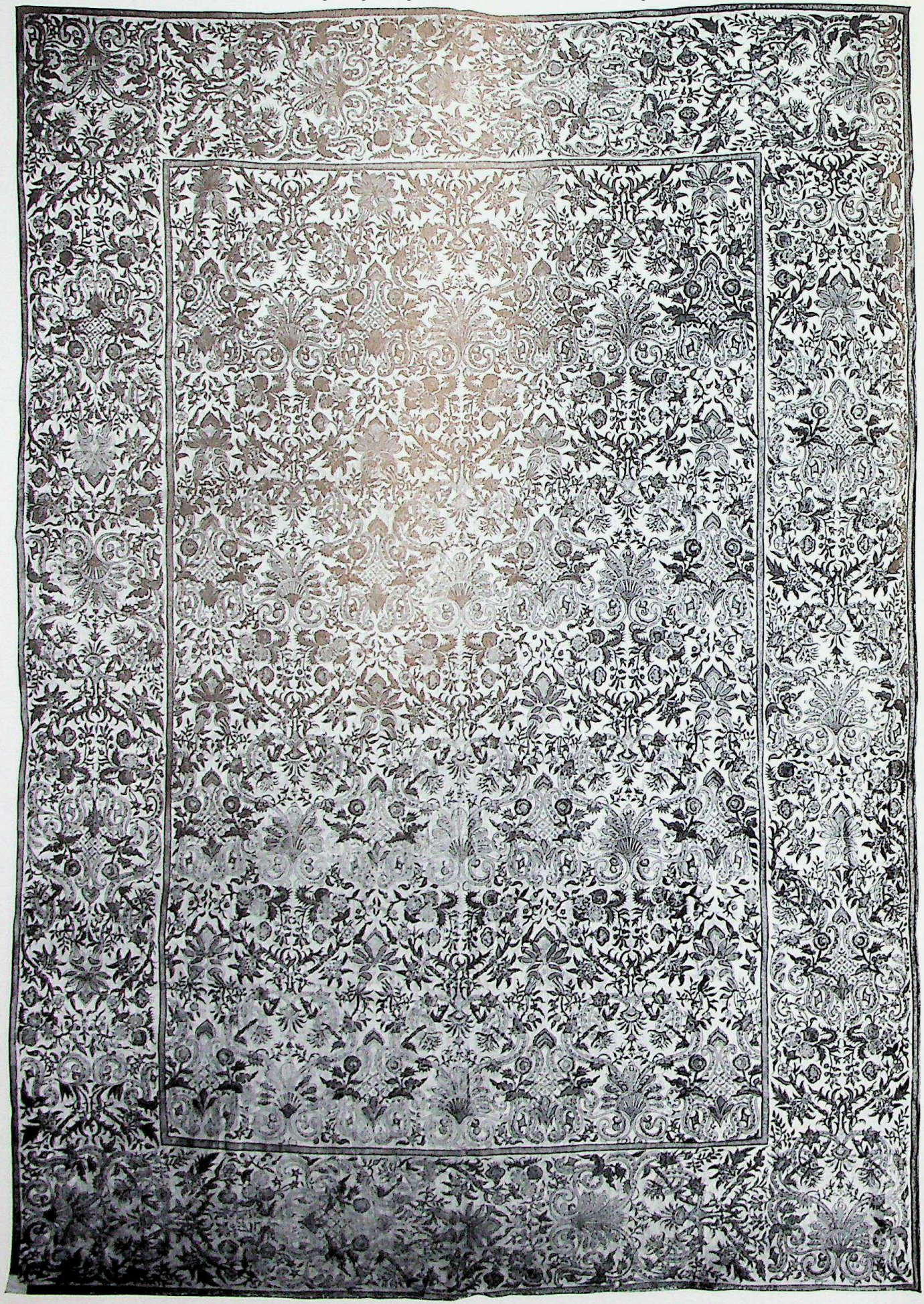


Plate 114

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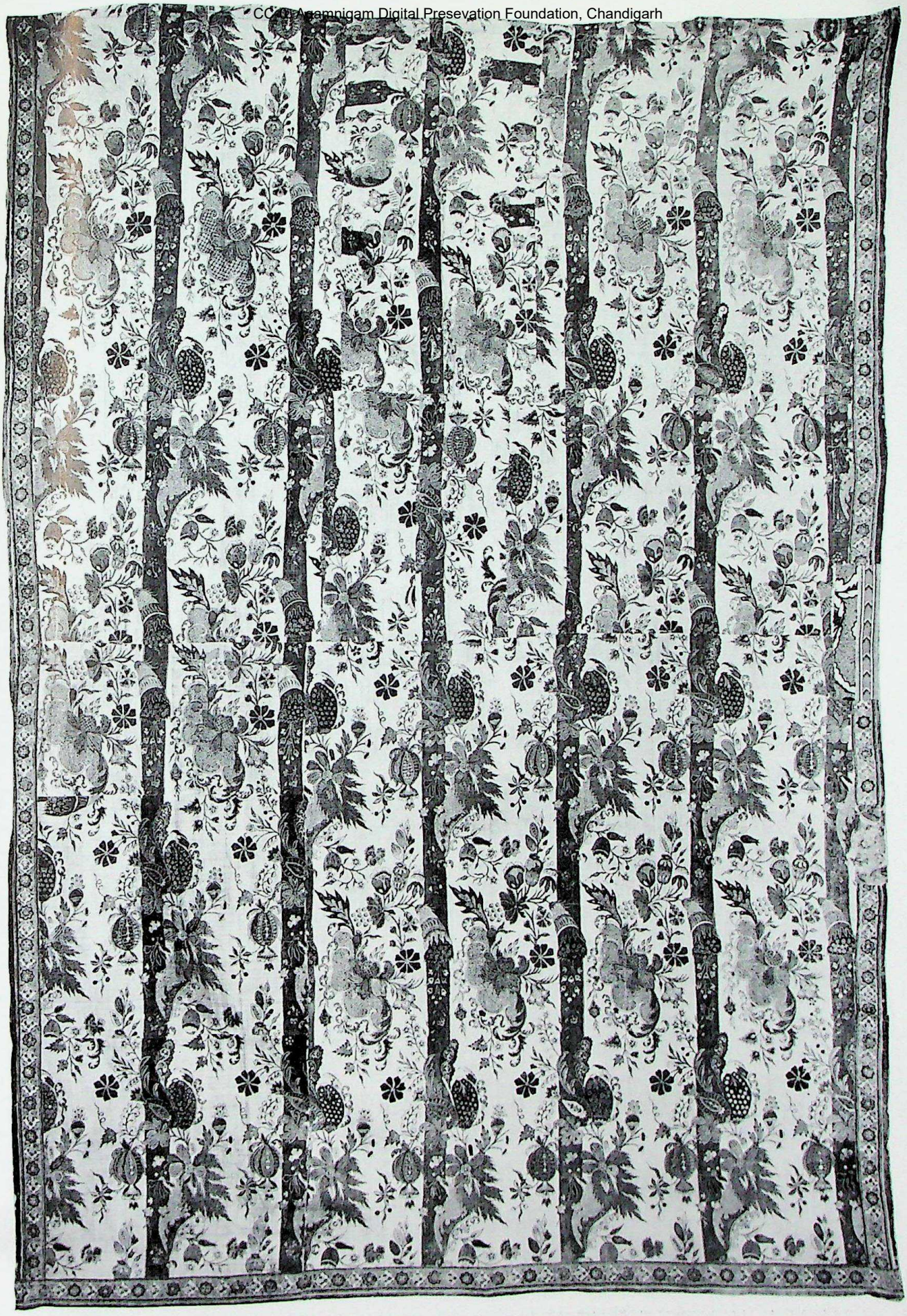
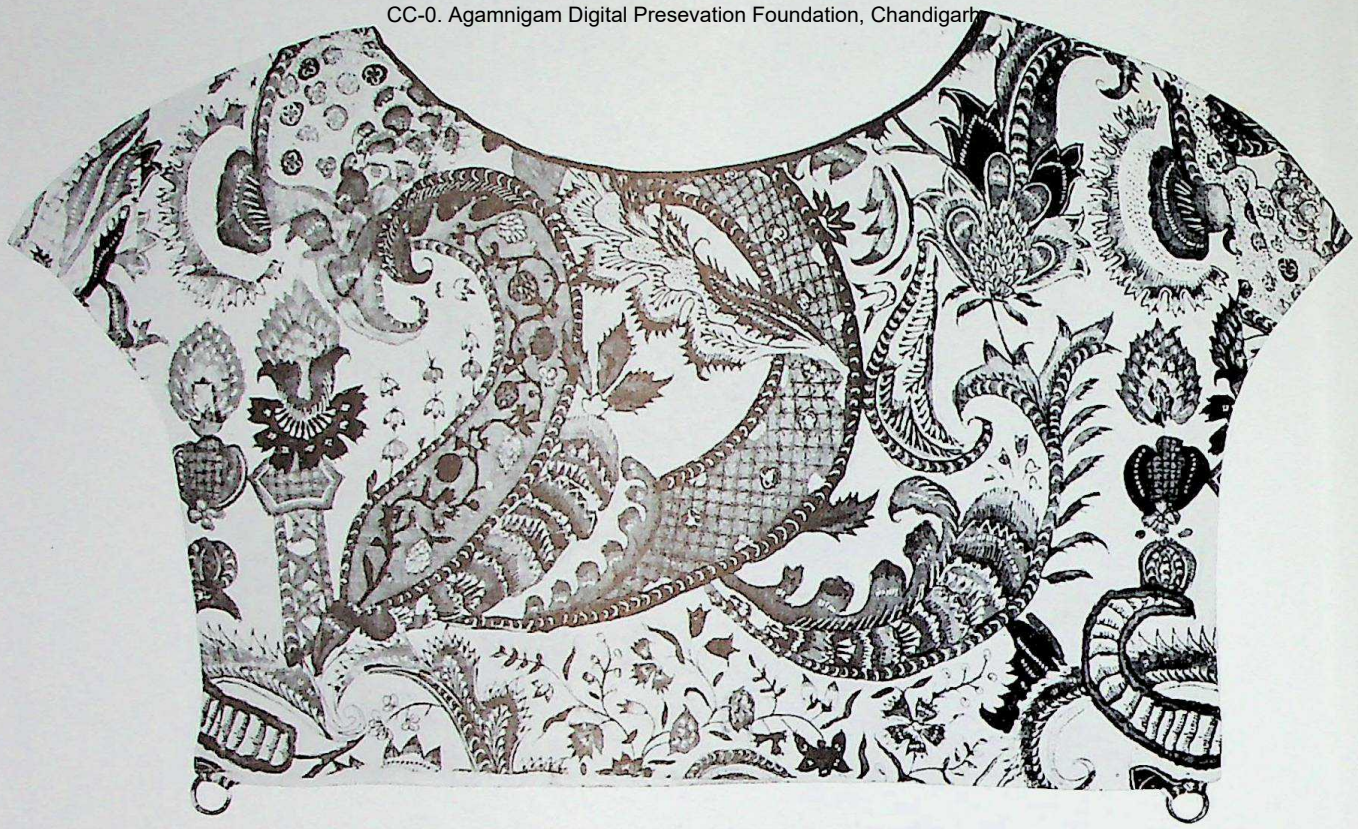
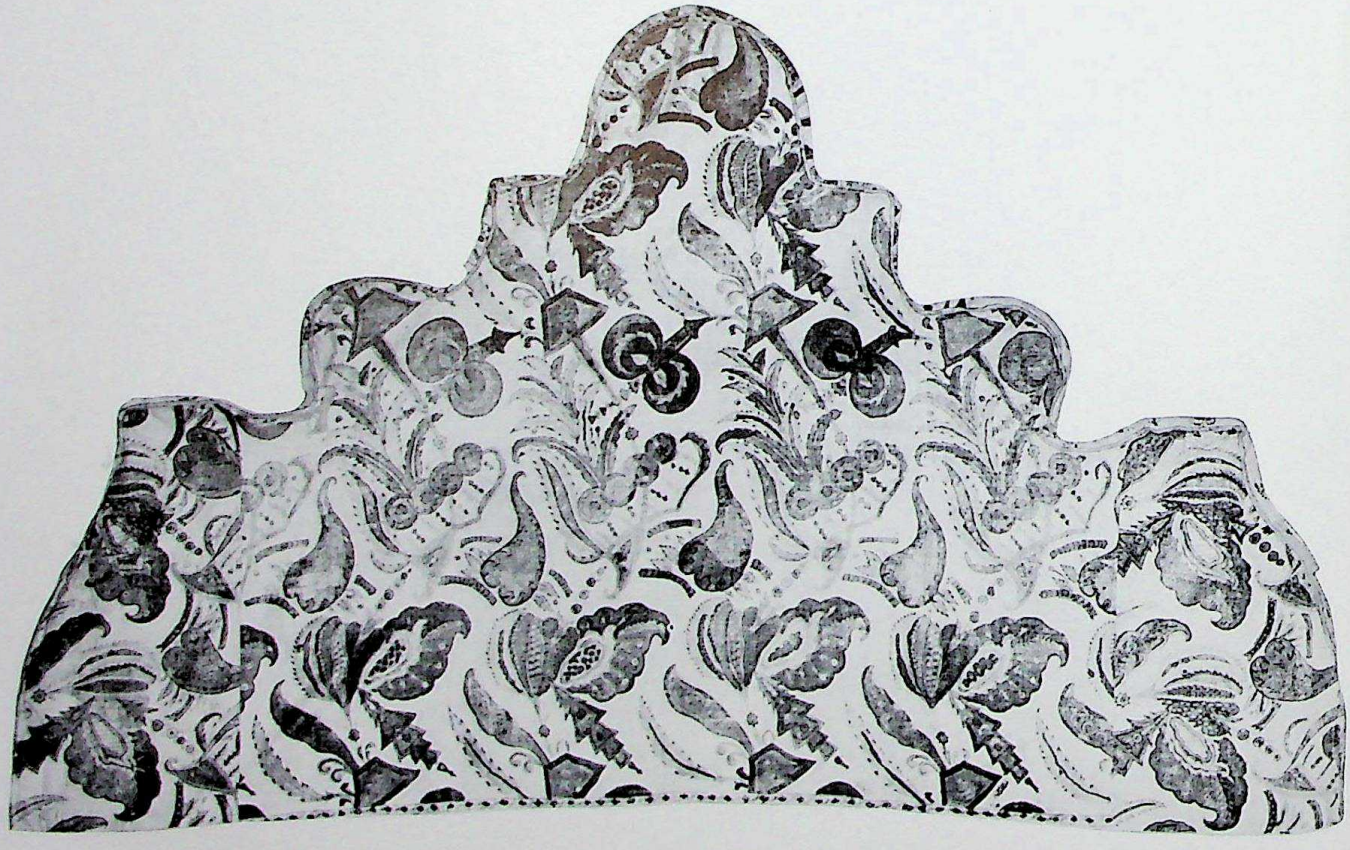


Plate 115

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh





Above: Plate 116a. Cat. No. 130. Yoke. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century
Below: Plate 116b. Cat. No. 131. Slipcover. Provenance uncertain, 1705–15
Right: Plate 117. Cat. No. 132. Fragment. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first quarter

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Plate 117

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Plate 118. Cat. No. 134. Cape. Coromandel Coast, mid-18th century

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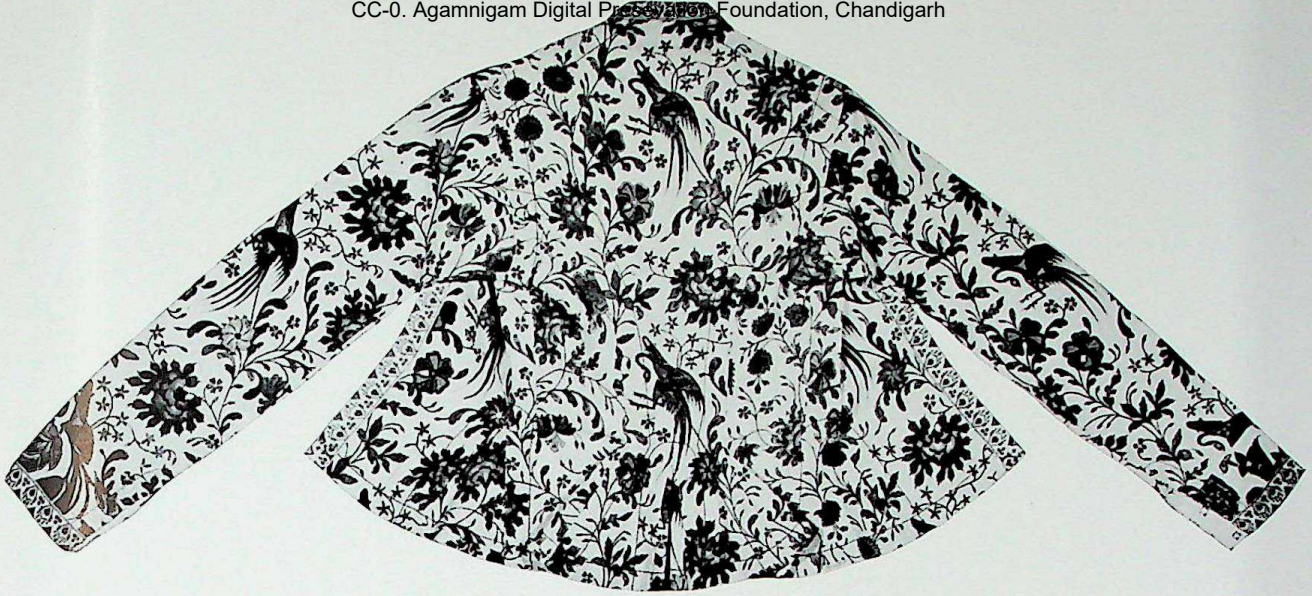

Above: Plate 119a. Cat. No. 135. Woman's jacket. Coromandel Coast. The material 18th century, first half; tailored in late 18th century
Below: Plate 119b. Cat. No. 136. Yoke. Coromandel Coast (southern region), early 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

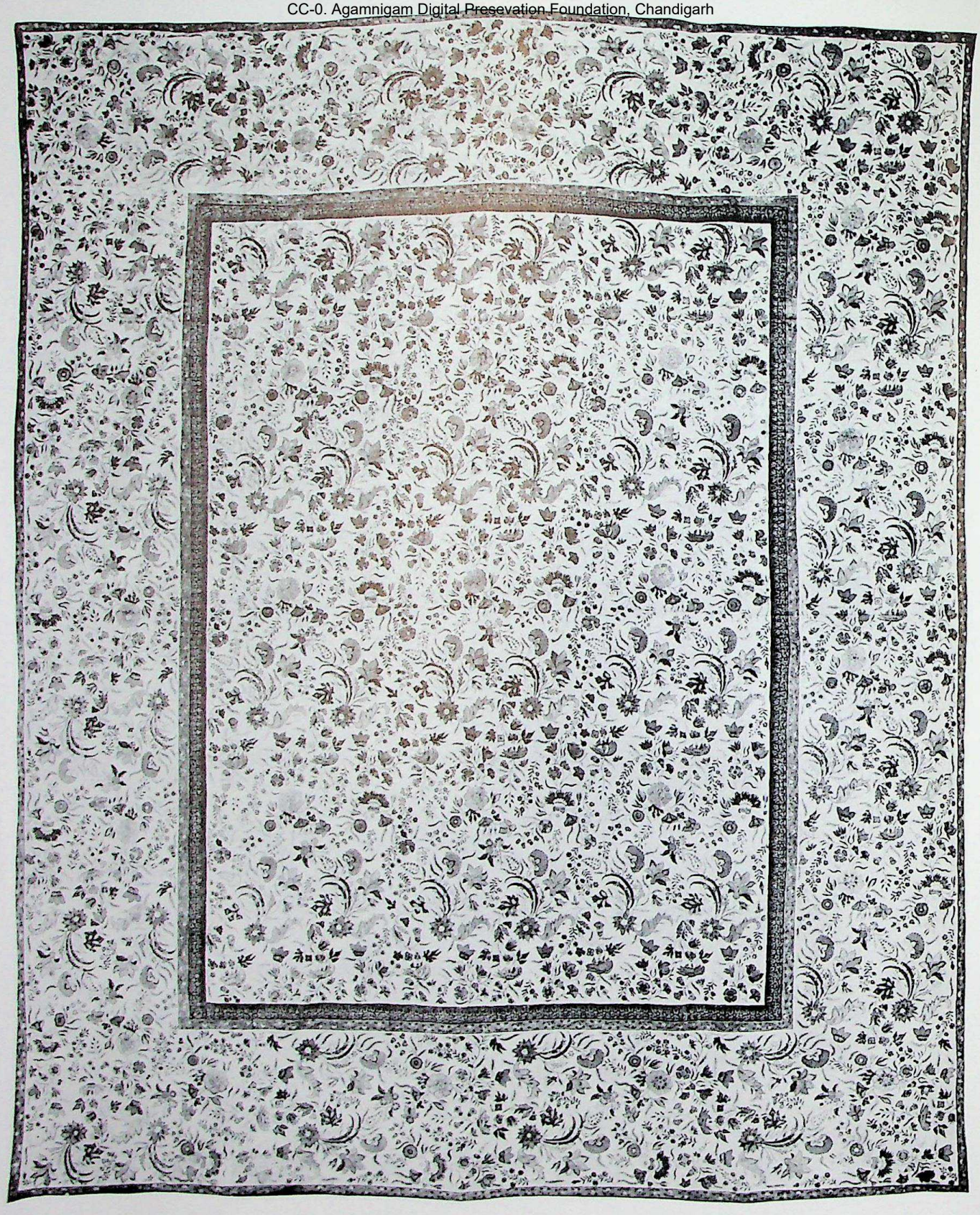

Plate 120. Cat. No. 137. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

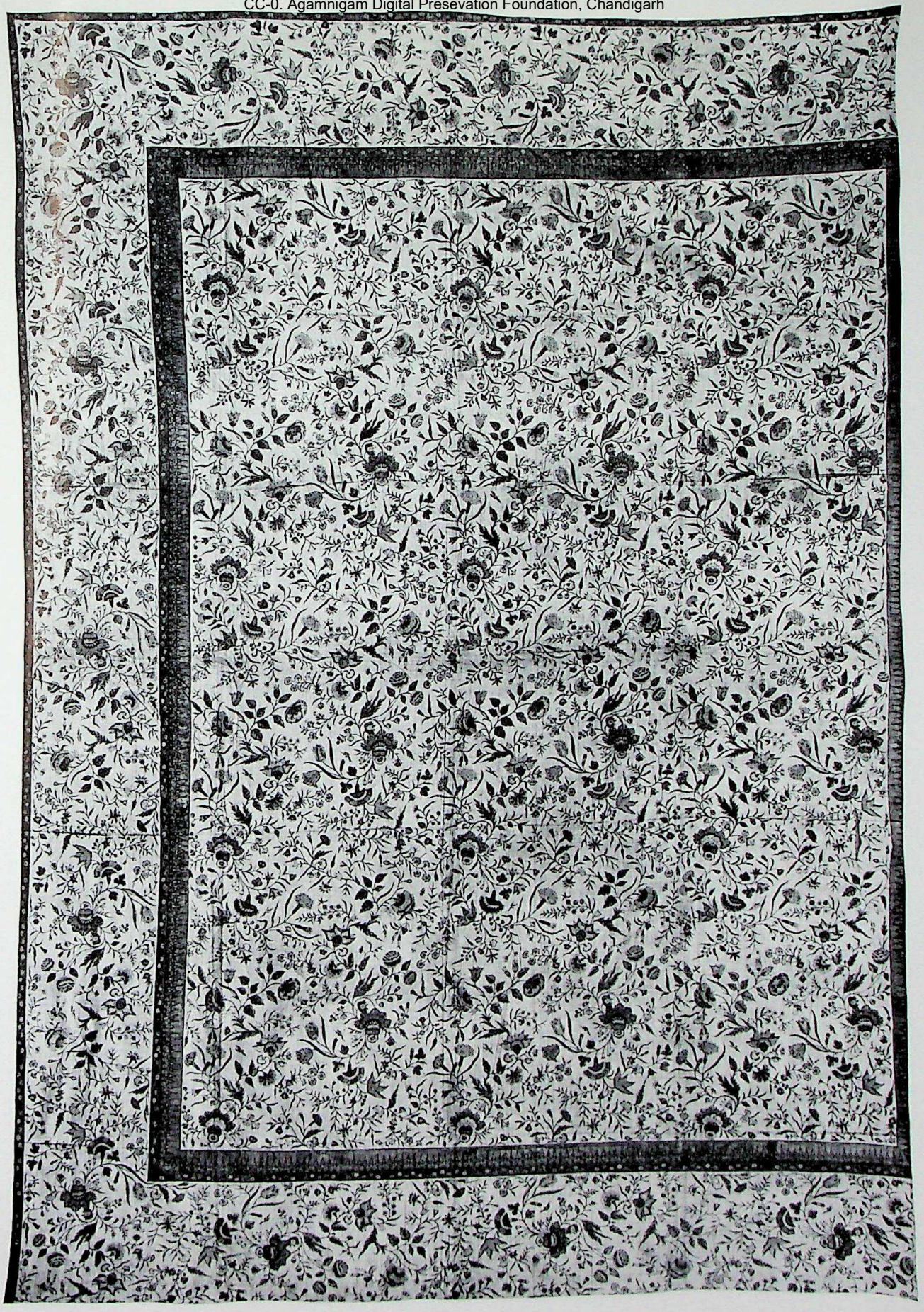

Plate 121. Cat. No. 138. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

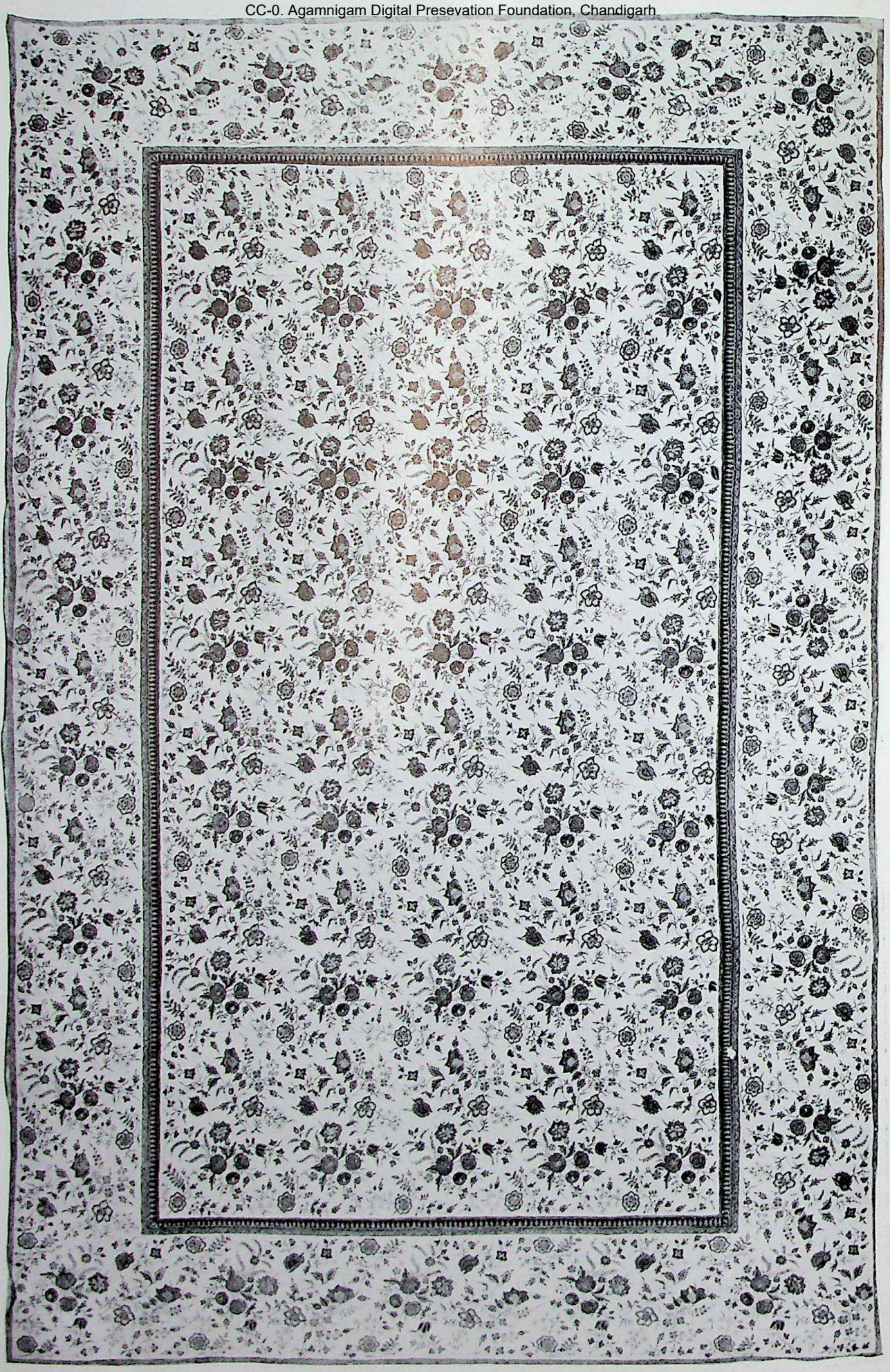

Plate 122

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Left: Plate 122. Cat. No. 139. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, first half
Above: Plate 123. Cat. No. 141. Jacket. Coromandel Coast (southern region). The material 18th century, third quarter or earlier; tailored in late 18th century

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Plate 124. Cat. No. 142. Skirt of a gown. Coromandel Coast, early 18th century

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Plate 125. Cat. No. 143. Gown. Provenance uncertain, early 18th century

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Plate 126. Cat. No. 144. Petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), mid-18th century

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Plate 127. Cat. No. 145. Part of a sack gown. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

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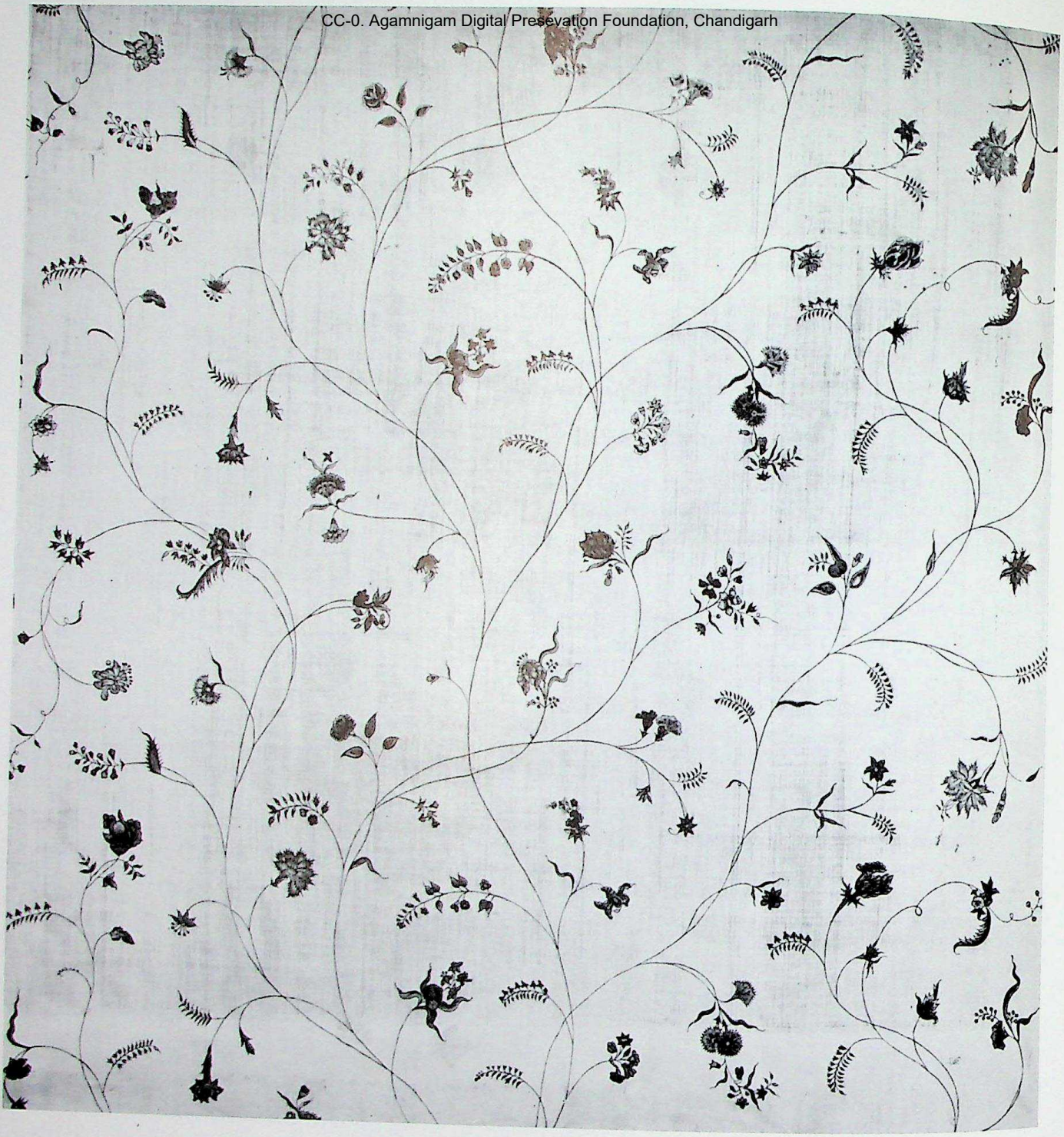

Plate 128. Cat. No. 146. Detail from a curtain. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

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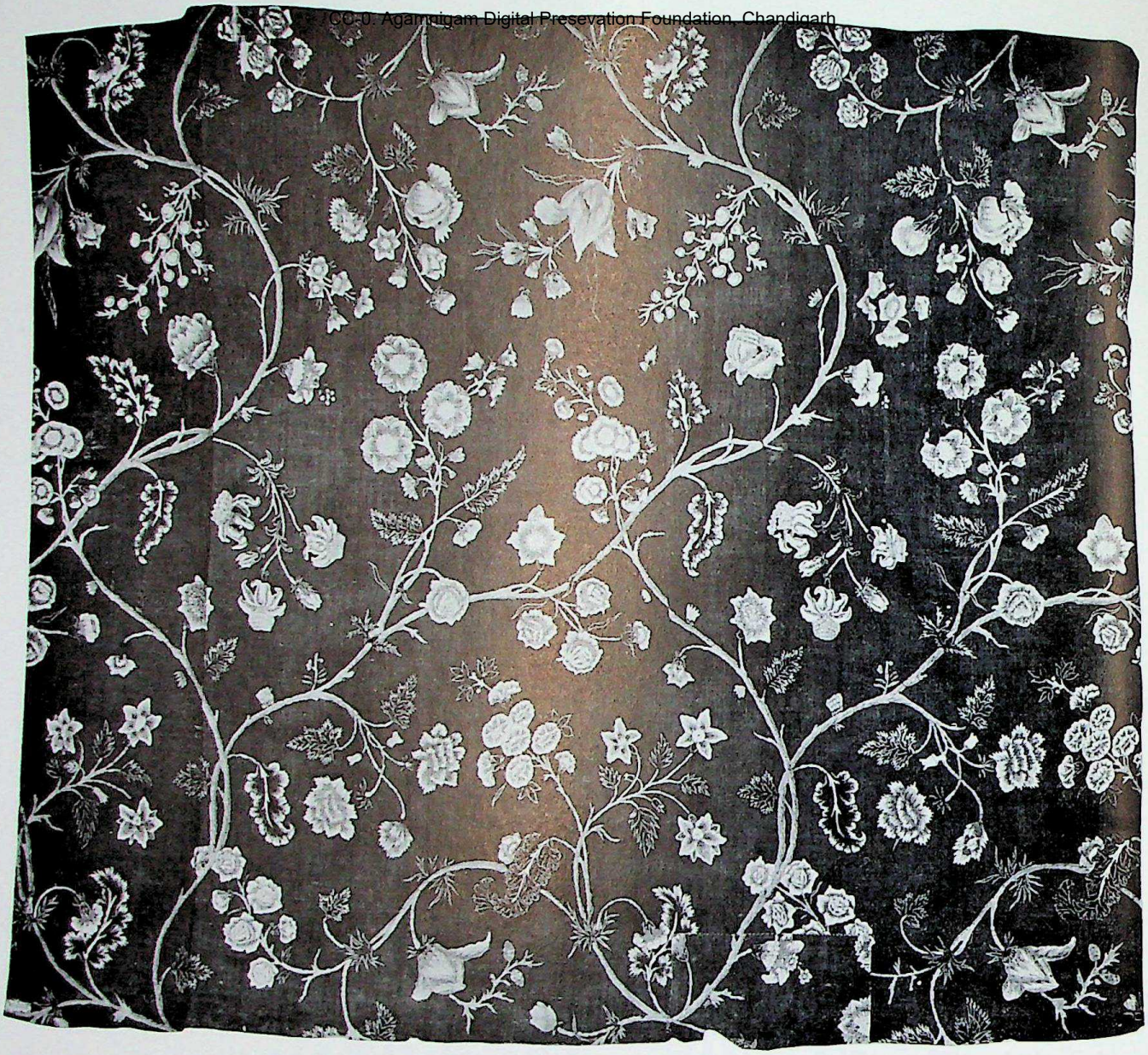
Plate 129. Cat. No. 147. Detail from a dress. Coromandel Coast (southern region), about 1780

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 130. Cat. No. 148. Yardage. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, third quarter
Right: Plate 131. Cat. No. 149. Palampore. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter

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Plate 132. Cat. No. 150. Yardage. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, last quarter

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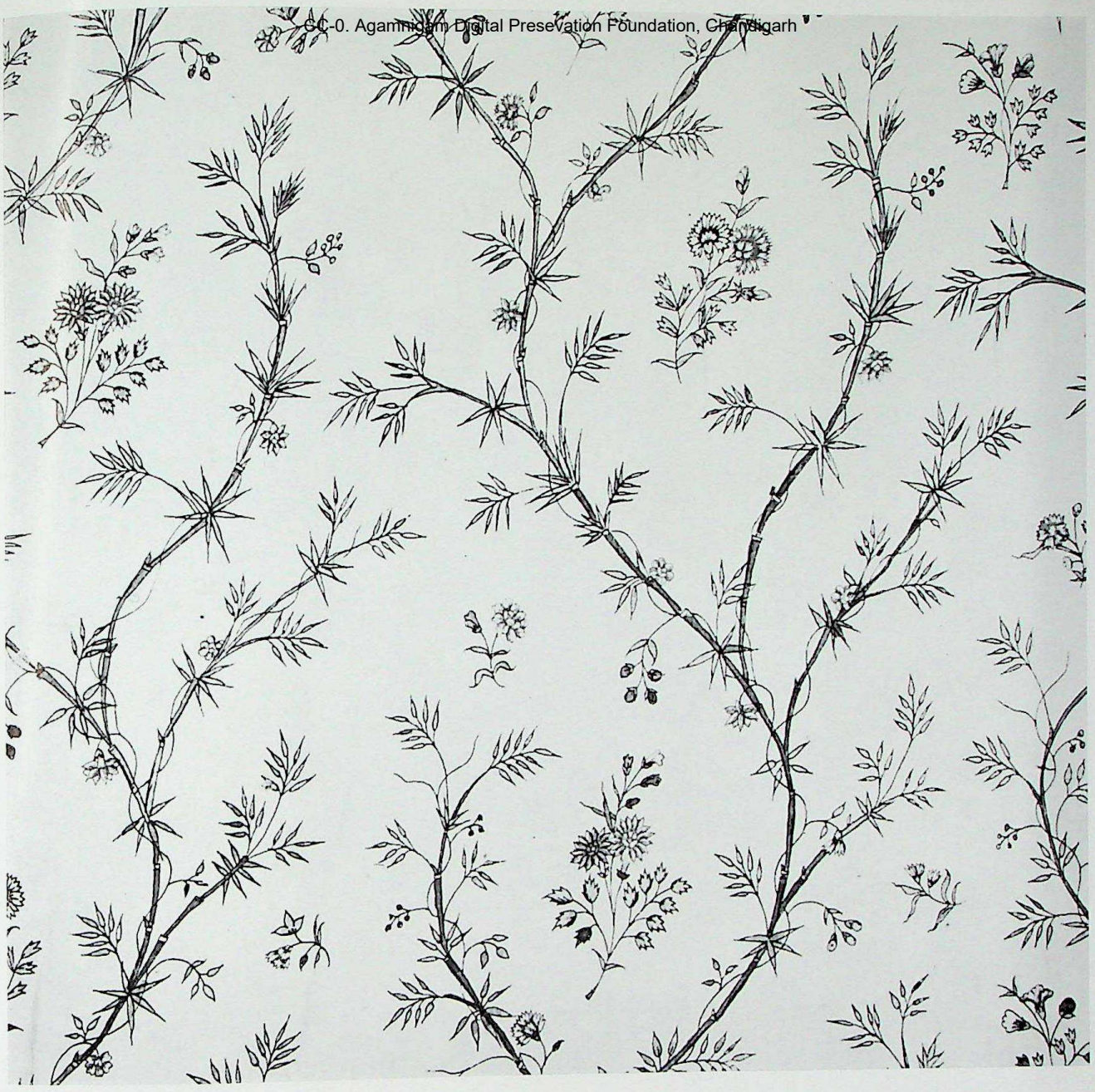

Plate 133. Cat. No. 151. Detail from an overdress. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter

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Plate 134

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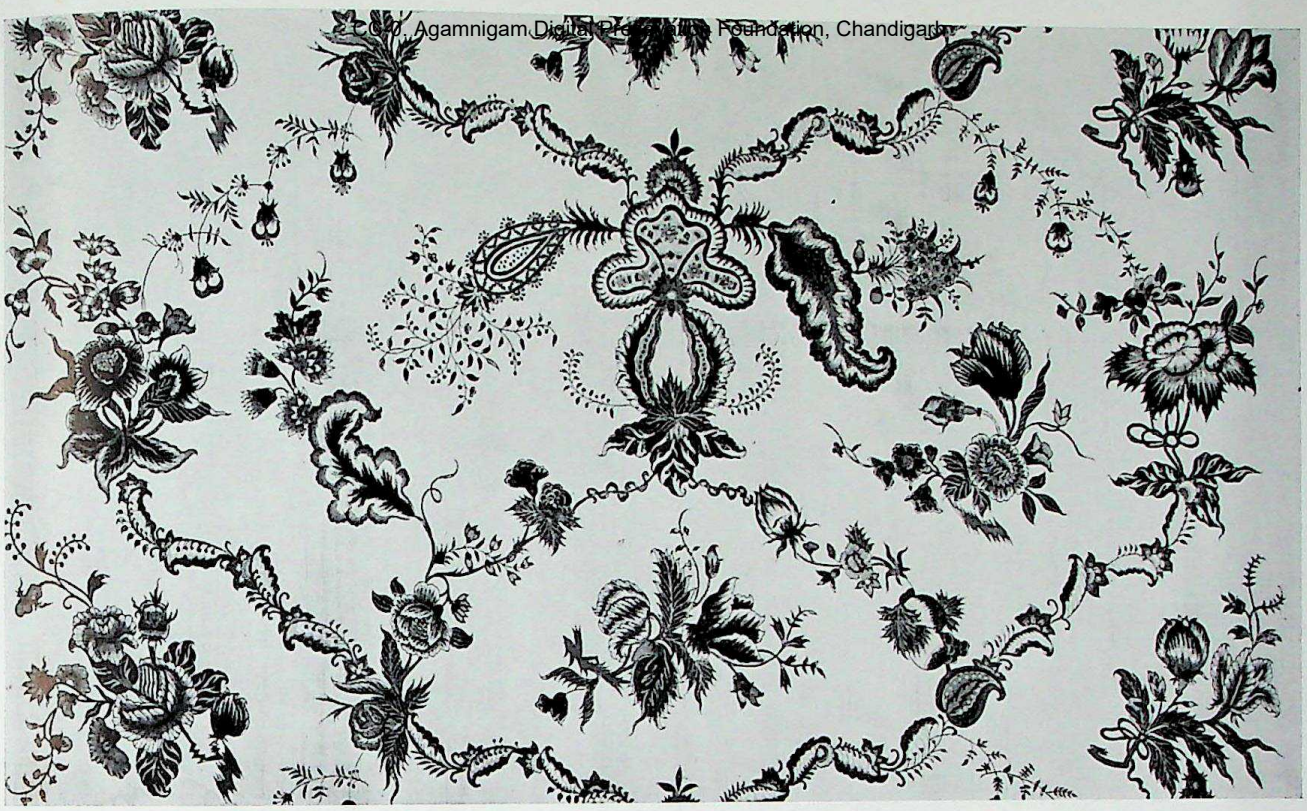

Left: Plate 134. Cat. No. 152. Detail from an overdress. Coromandel Coast (southern region), mid-18th century
Above: Plate 135. Cat. No. 153. Detail from a sack gown. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 1740–50

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Plate 136. Cat. No. 154. Detail from an overdress. Coromandel Coast, mid-18th century

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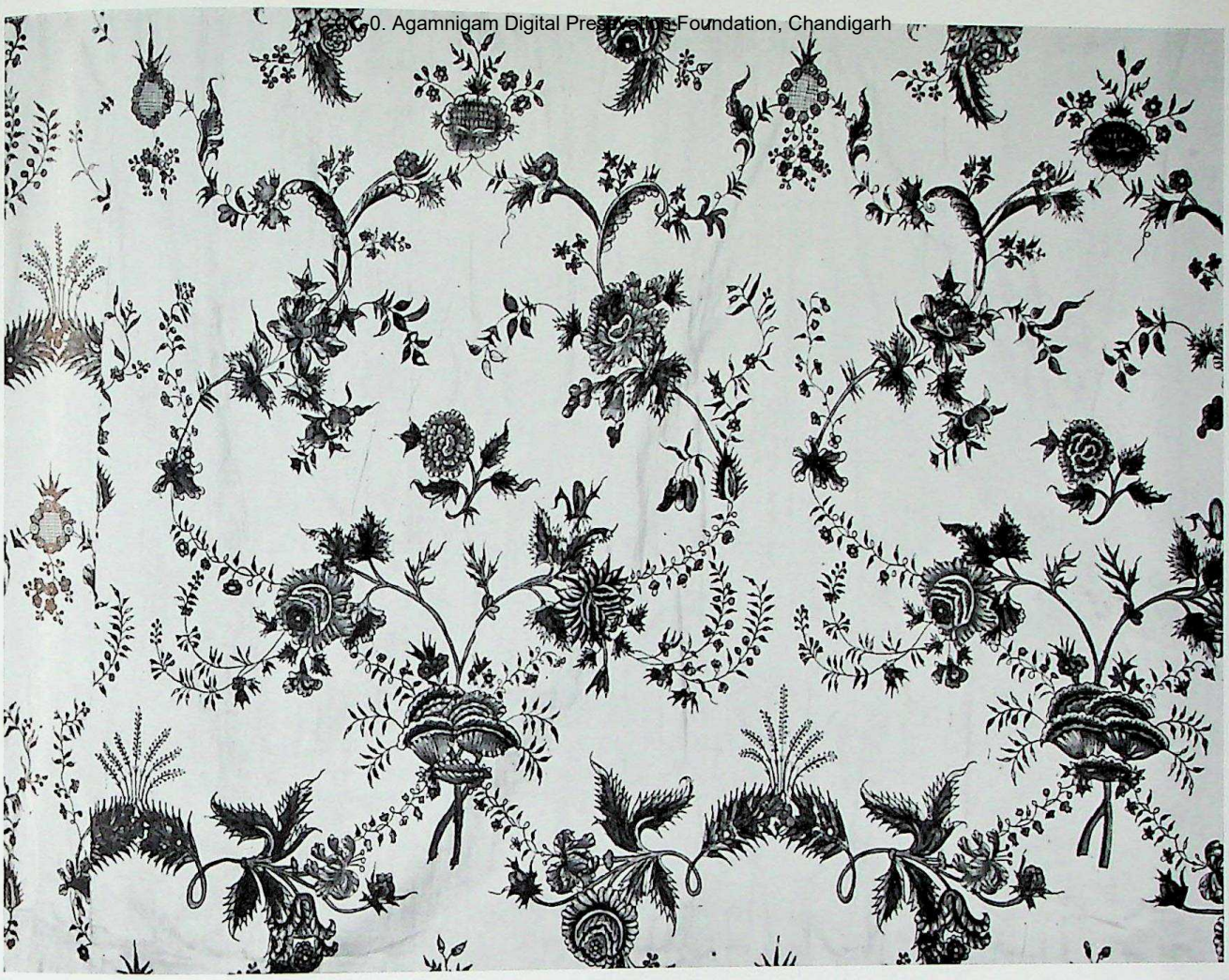

Plate 137. Cat. No. 155. Detail from a petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, third quarter

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Plate 138. Cat. No. 156. Detail from a curtain. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, third quarter

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Plate 139. Cat. No. 157. Yardage. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, third quarter

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Plate 140a. Cat. No. 118. Detail from a petticoat. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, second half

Plate 140b. Cat. No. 159. Yardage. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, third quarter

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Plate 141. Cat. No. 160. Detail from a cape. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, third quarter

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Plate 142

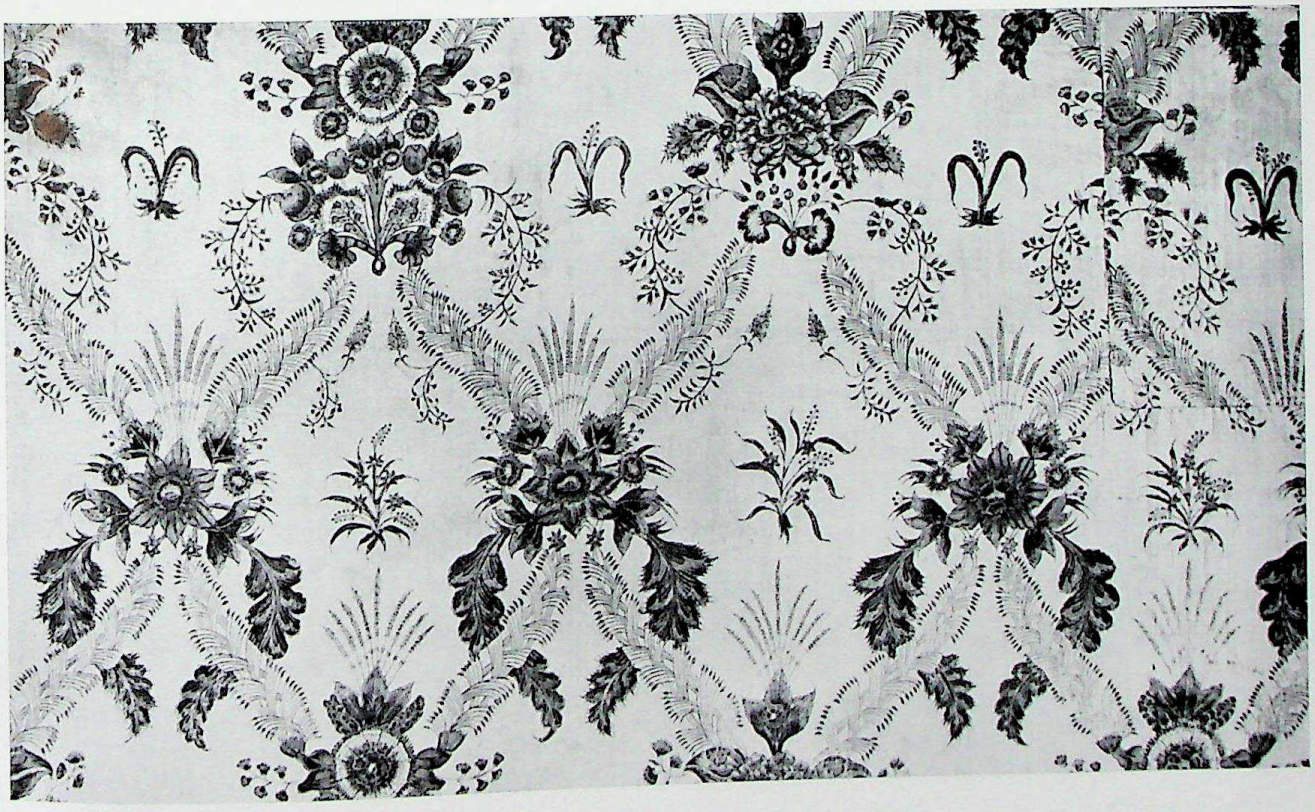
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Left: Plate 142. Cat. No. 161. Two-piece dress. Coromandel Coast (northern region), about 1770
Above: Plate 143. Cat. No. 162. Facing of a hat brim. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, last quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 144. Cat. No. 165. Fragment of a dress. Provenance uncertain, late 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 145a. Cat. No. 164. Yardage. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, last quarter
Below: Plate 145b. Cat. No. 166. Yardage. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, last quarter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

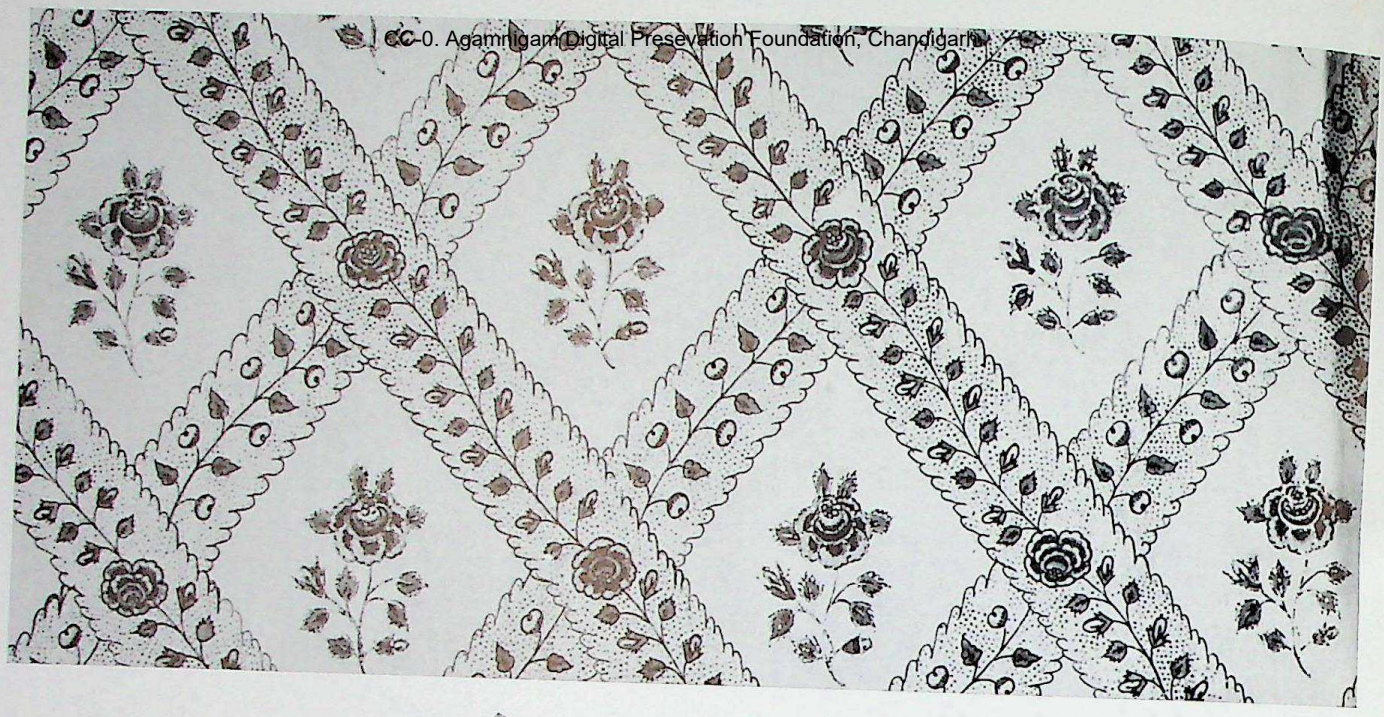
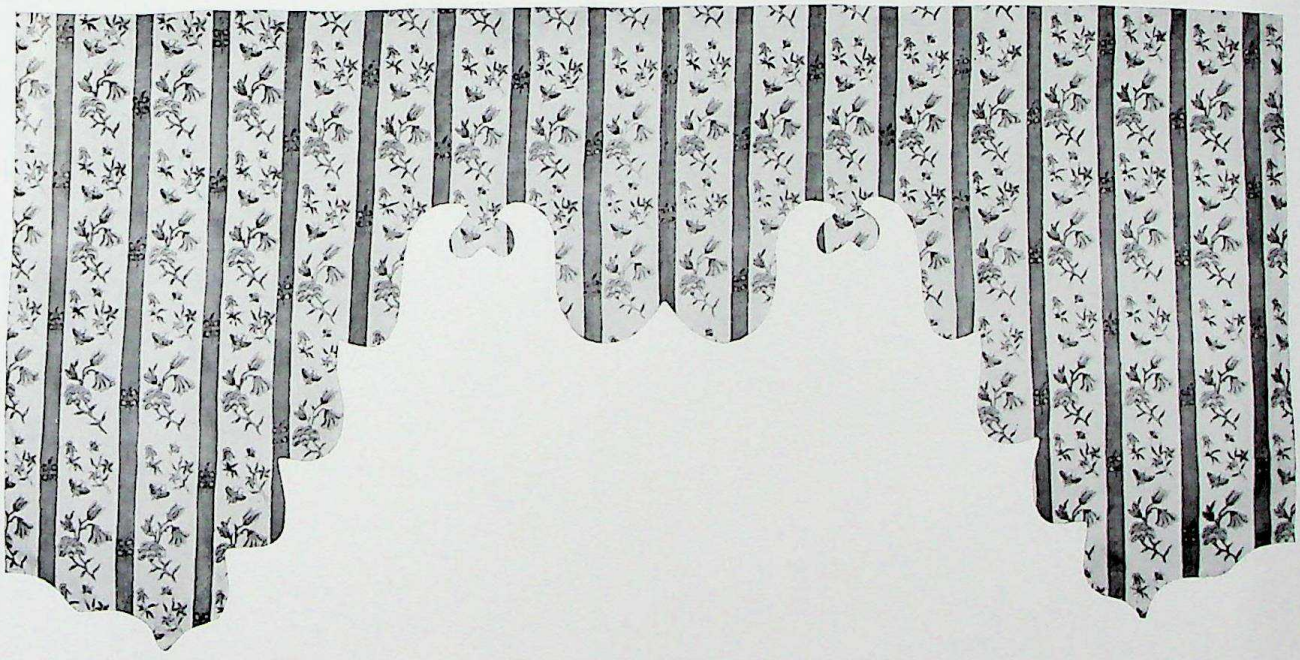


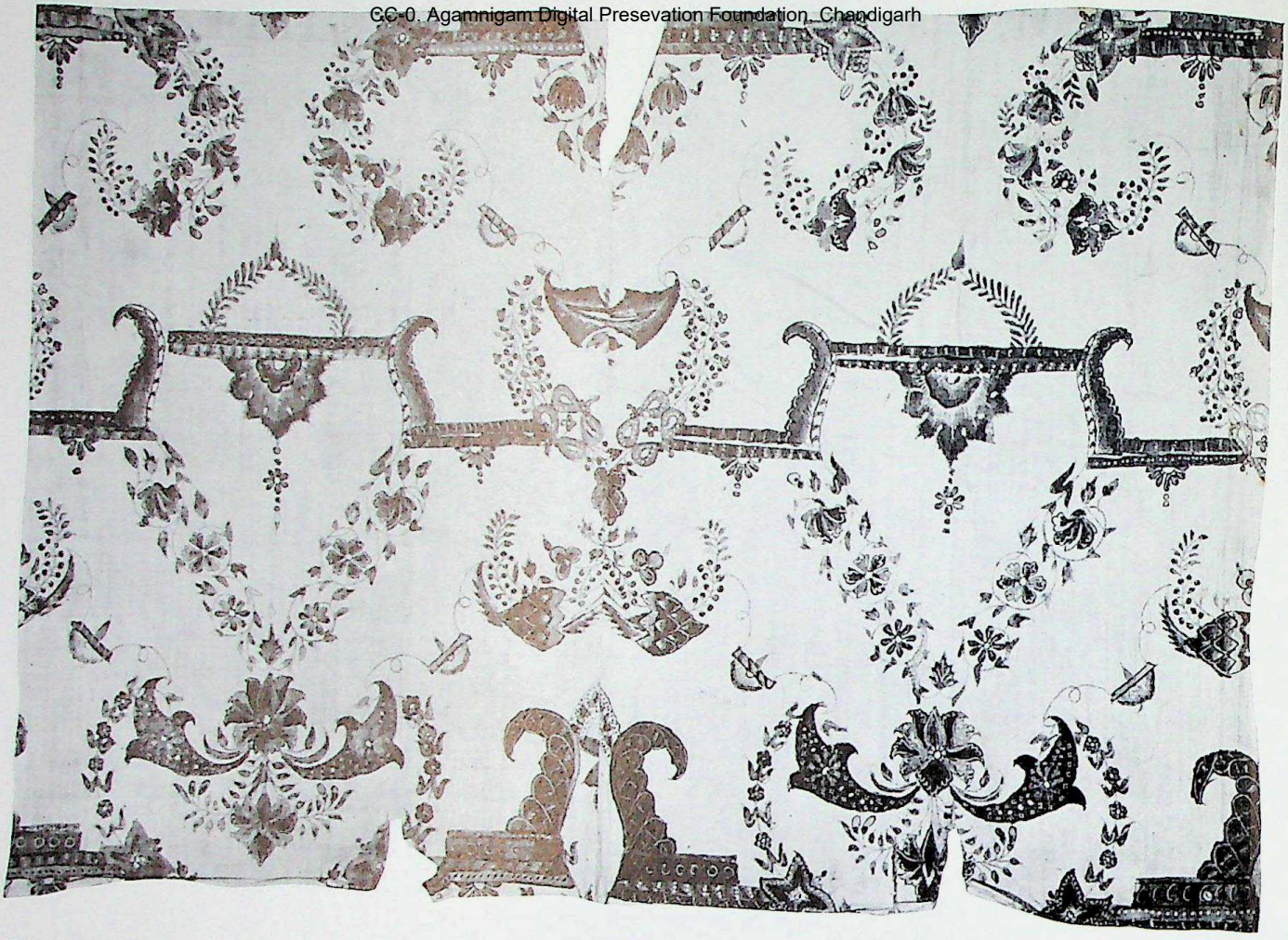
Plate 146. Cat. No. 168. Apron, and detail of same. Provenance uncertain, late 18th century

CC-0. Aga Khan Trust for Culture and Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 147a. Cat. No. 169. Bed upholstery. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, last quarter
Below: Plate 147b. Cat. No. 176. Valance. Possibly Western India, 1720–30

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Above: Plate 148a. Cat. No. 170. Fragment. Coromandel Coast (southern region), 18th century, second half
Below: Plate 148b. Cat. No. 171. Jacket. Provenance unknown, 18th century, last quarter

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri Sesevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 149a. Cat. No. 174. Fragment. Coromandel Coast, early 18th century

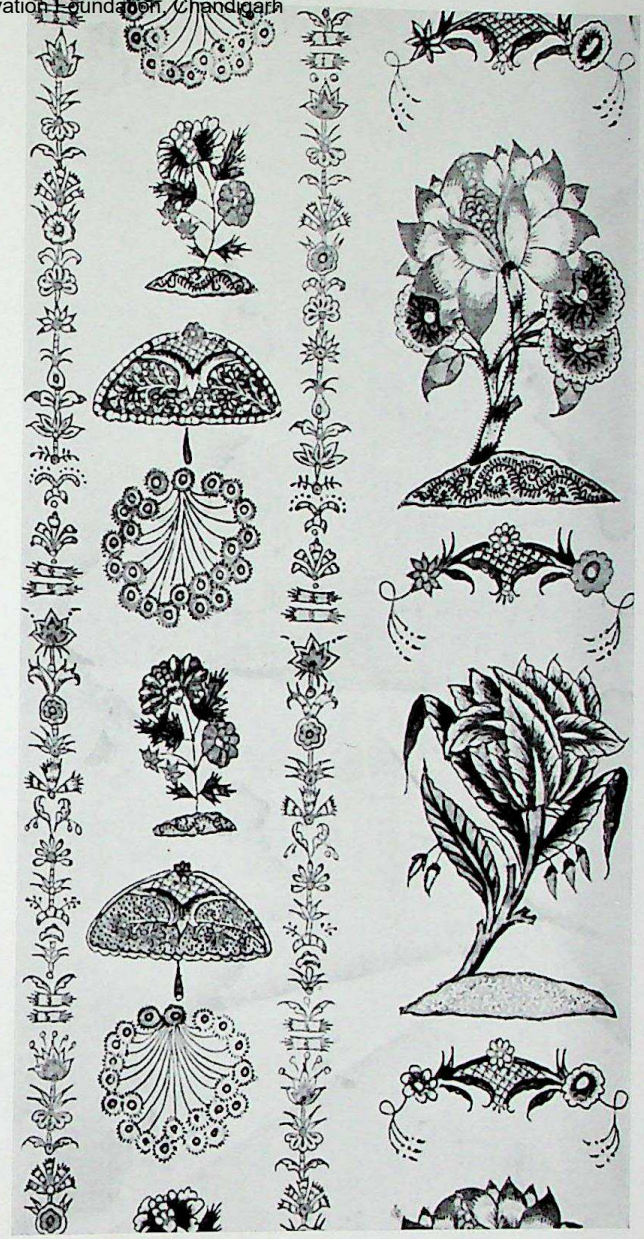


Plate 149b. Cat. No. 175. Fragment. Coromandel Coast, early 18th century

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Above: Plate 150a
Below: Plate 150b

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Opposite page, above: Plate 150a. Cat. No. 163. Fragment. Provenance uncertain, 18th century, third quarter
Opposite page, below: Plate 150b. Cat. No. 179. Detail from a gown. Coromandel Coast (northern region), 18th century, last quarter
Above: Plate 151a. Cat. No. 178. Detail from a jacket. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, last quarter
Left: Plate 151b. Cat. No. 180. Detail from a jacket. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, last quarter

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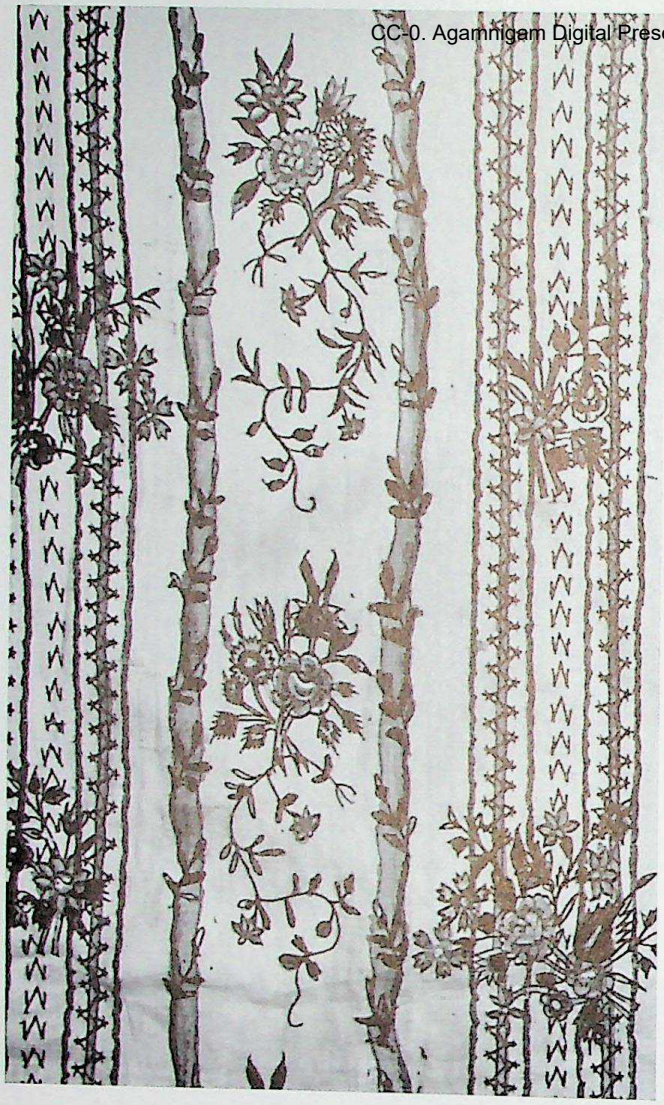

Plate 152a. Cat. No. 180. Patch from a jacket. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, last quarter

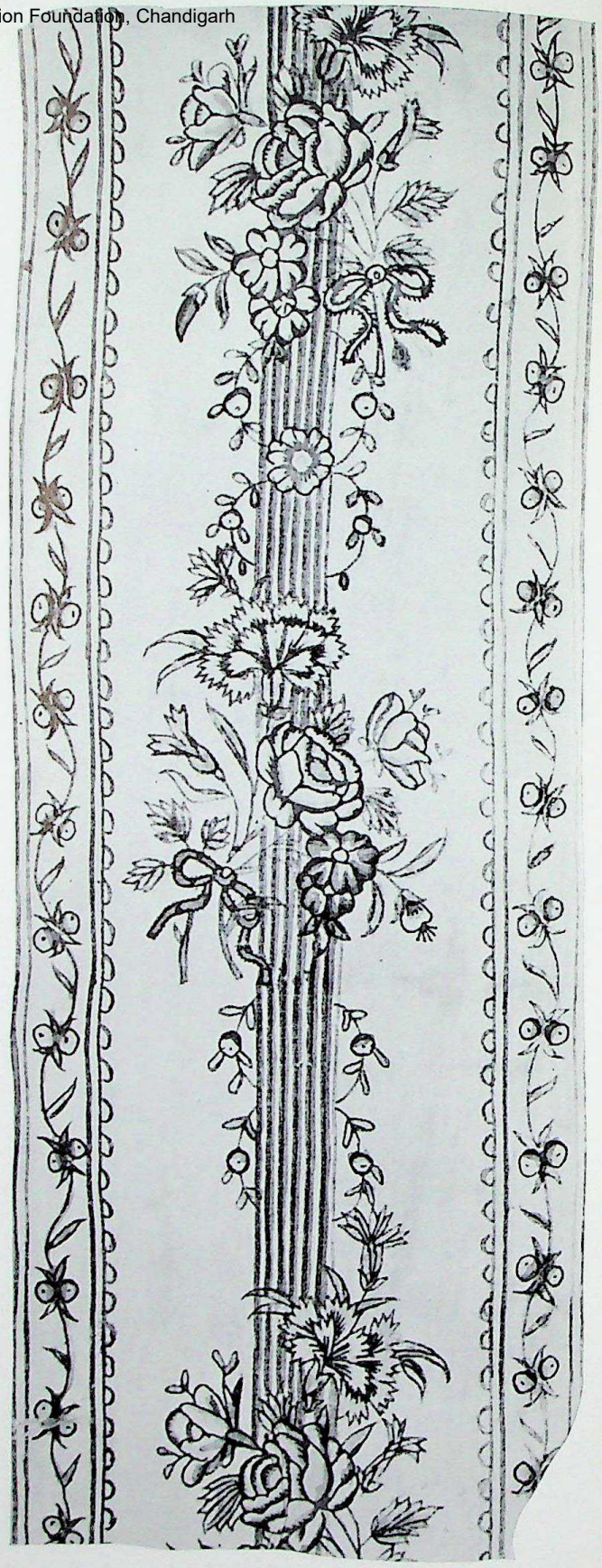

Plate 152b. Cat. No. 181. Fragment. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, last quarter

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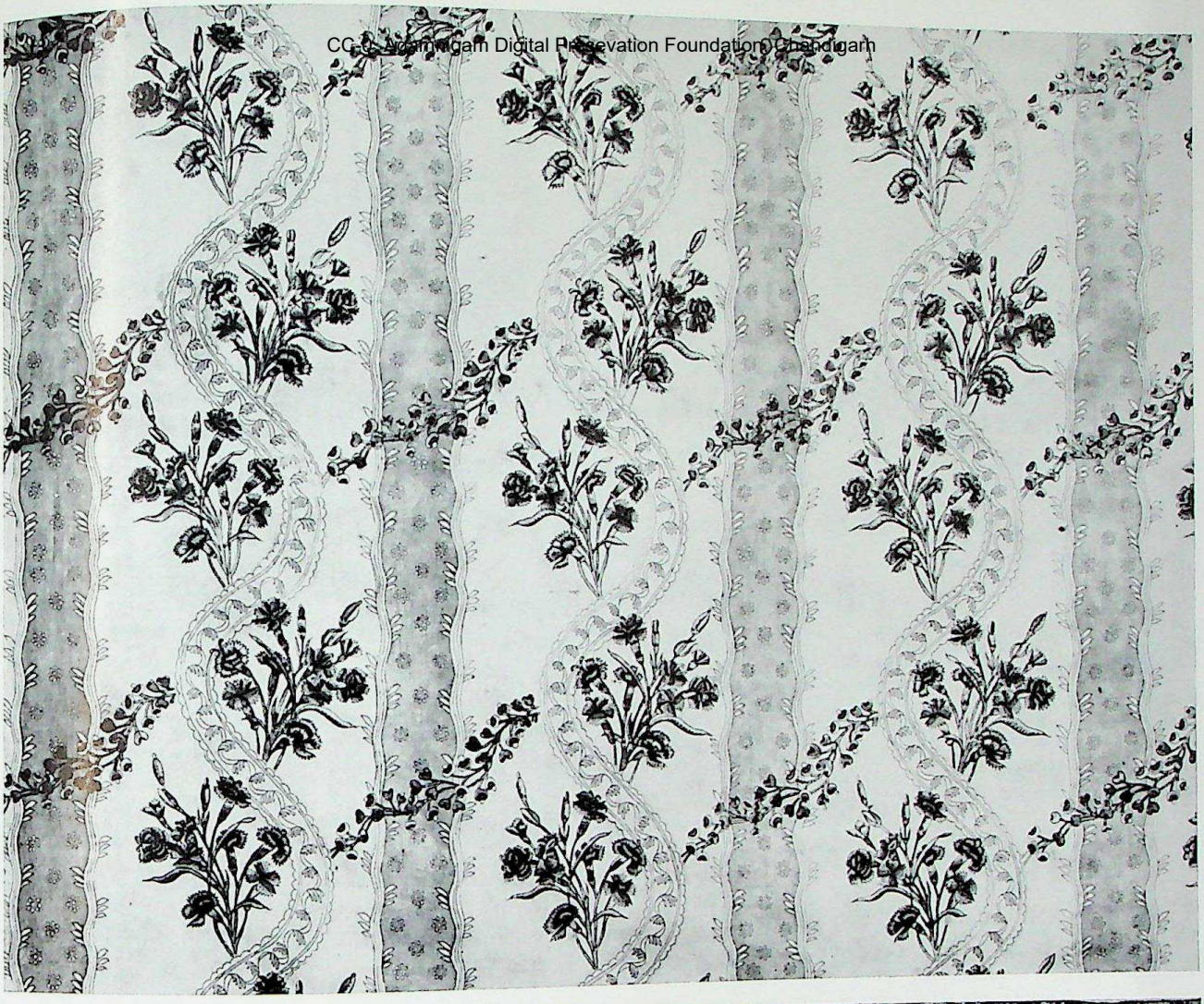

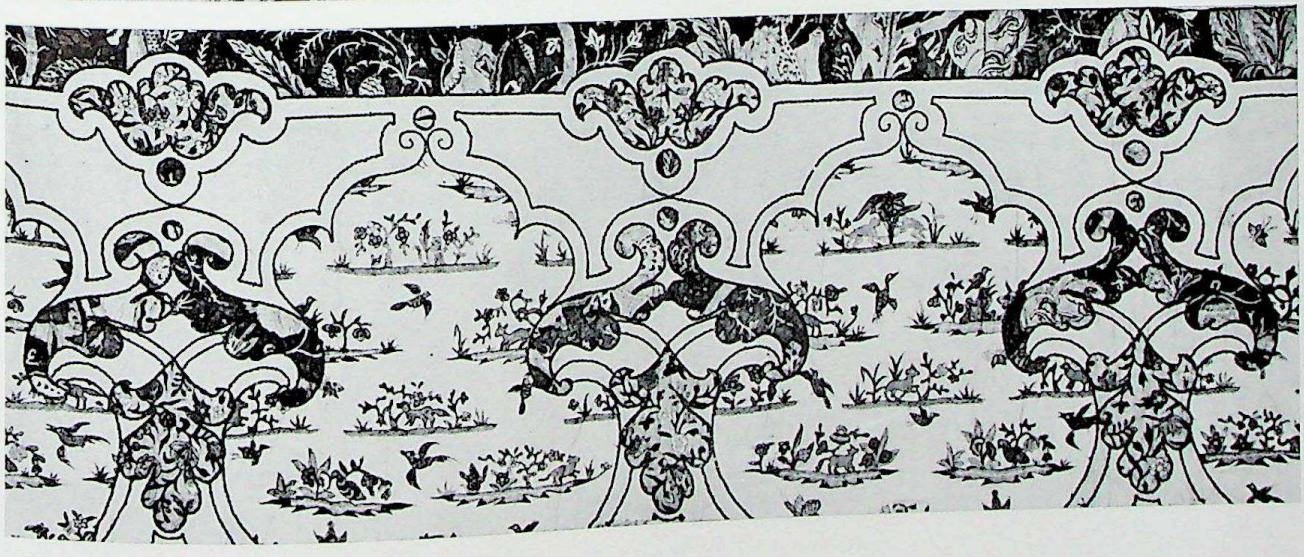

Above: Plate 153a. Cat. No. 177. Yardage. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, last quarter
Below: Plate 153b. Cat. No. 184. Fragments of applied work. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, first quarter

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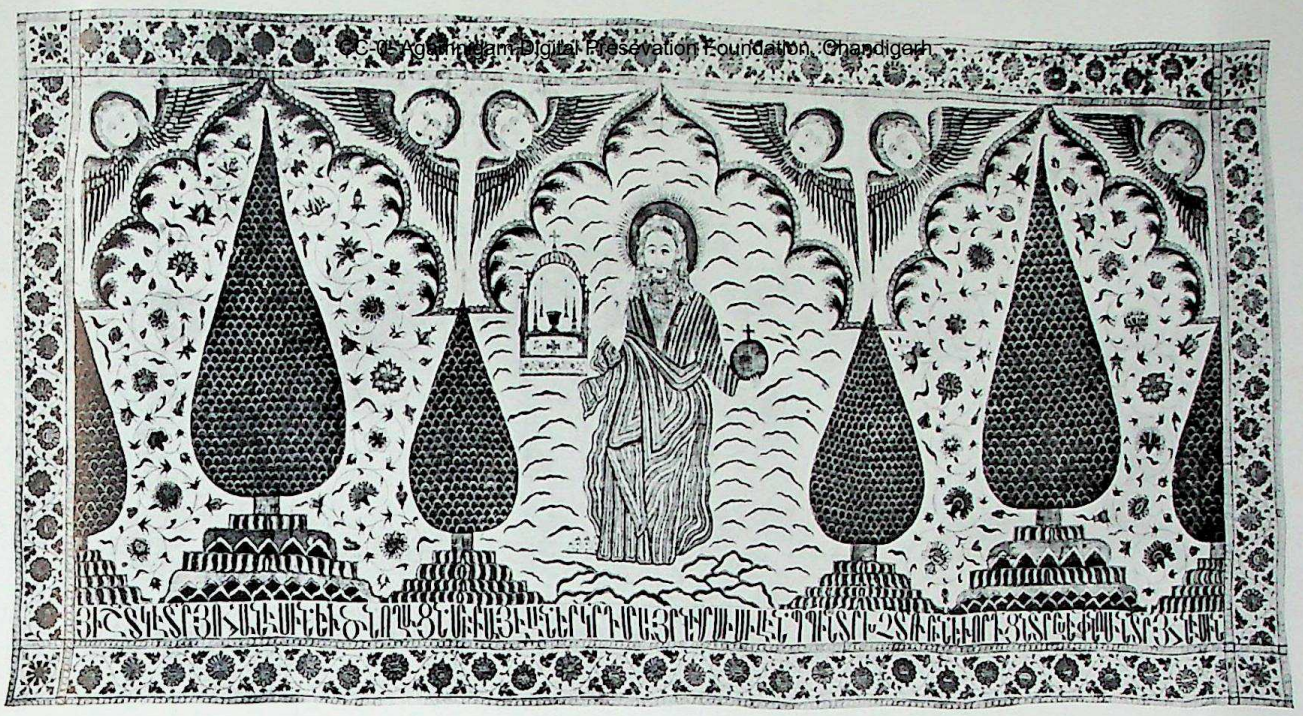
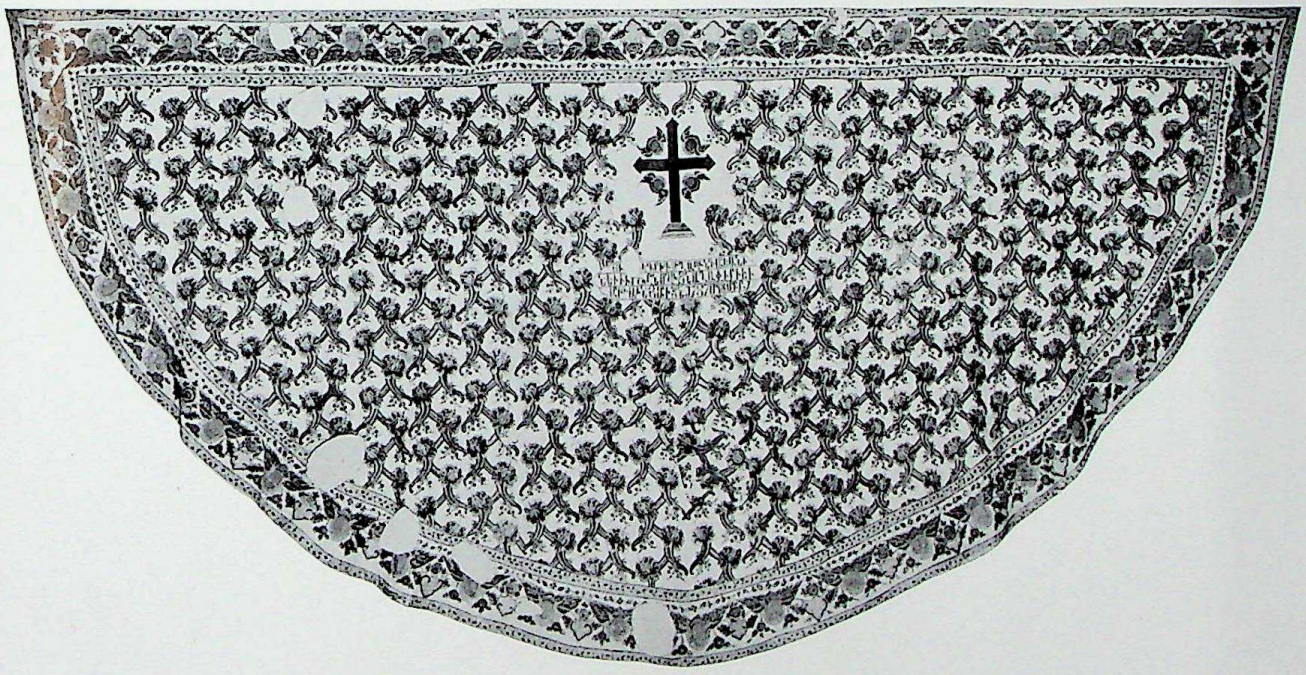
Plate 154. Cat. No. 184. Fragments of applied work. Coromandel Coast, 18th century, first quarter

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh





Above: Plate 155a. Cat. No. 185. Altar frontal. Possibly Western India, early 18th century
Below: Plate 155b. Cat. No. 186. Cope. Coromandel Coast, dated 1787

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 156

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Left: Plate 156. Cat. No. 188. Vestment. Probably Madras State, 18th century
Above: Plate 157. Cat. No. 187. Hanging. Coromandel Coast, 18th century

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

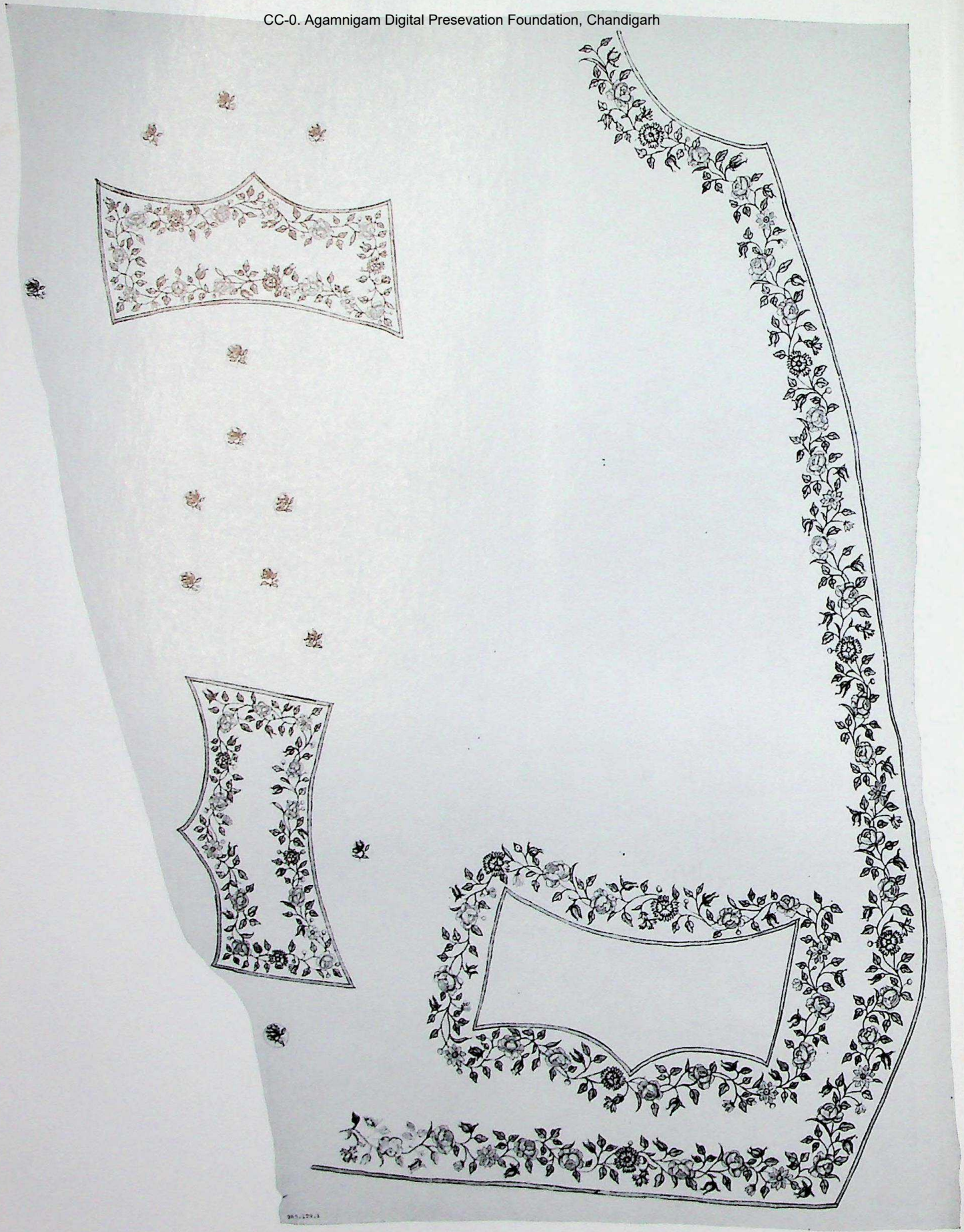


Plate 158. Cat. No. 104. Unmade waistcoat. Coromandel Coast, 1780–90

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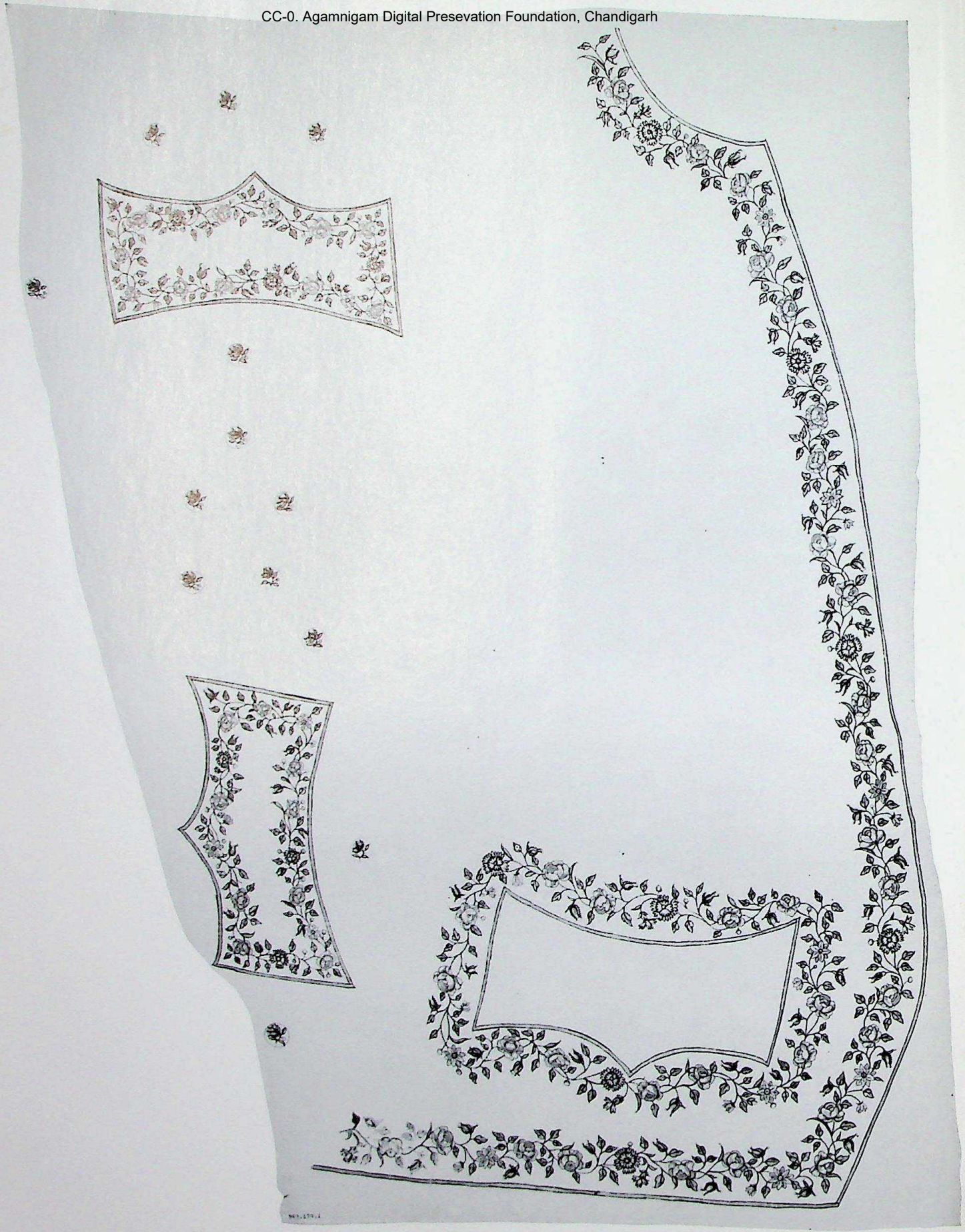

Plate 158. Cat. No. 104. Unmade waistcoat. Coromandel Coast, 1780–90

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